

Bush
and the
hostage drama

Page 11

IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 15, NO. 30

AUG. 7-AUG. 20, 1991

\$2.00

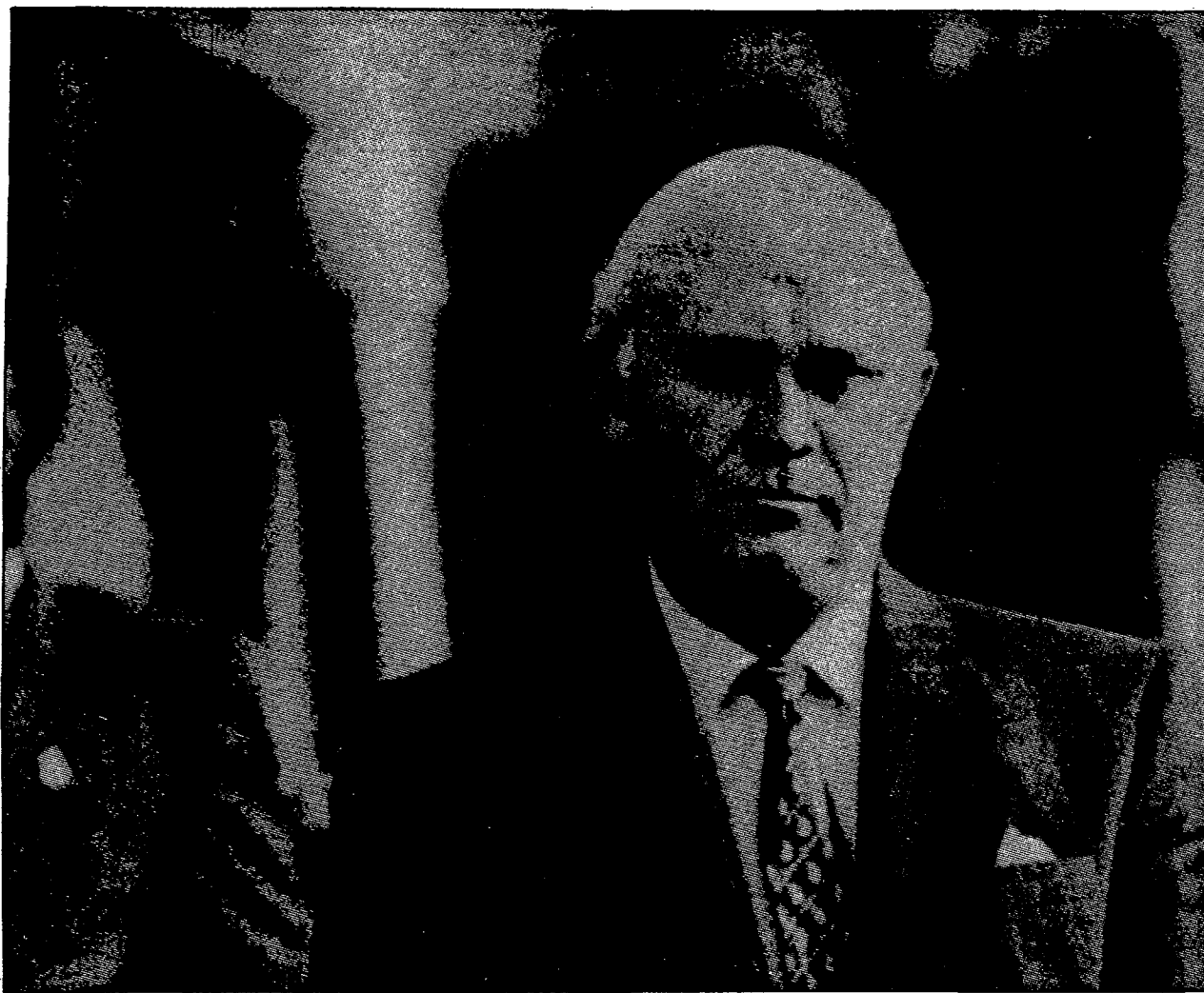
PERESTROIKA, NICARAGUAN-STYLE

The Sandinistas
integrate
democracy
and
revolution



PETER HANNAH

David R. Dye reports, page 12



Will South African President F.W. de Klerk now be able to negotiate a smooth transition to democracy?

South Africa's new credibility crisis

By Craig Charney

JOHANNESBURG

South African President F.W. de Klerk defused the ongoing Inkatha scandal with a partial housecleaning last week, but his actions did not quell concerns here about his ability to negotiate a smooth transition to democracy. The disclosure of government gifts to Inkatha, the chief black rival of the African National Congress (ANC), and scores of other conservative black groups has also boosted the ANC's position before the upcoming constitutional talks. The key question is whether the ministerial reshuffling and other measures de Klerk announced offer a break with the past or merely a game of musical chairs. The answer will determine whether South Africa peacefully ends white minority rule—or becomes an African El Salvador.

The scandal became public on July 19 when Johannes-

burg's *Weekly Mail* published Security Police reports documenting police funding of Inkatha rallies in November 1989 and March 1990. This was followed by admissions that the government had channeled more than \$500,000 to an Inkatha-linked trade union involved in violence against ANC supporters, financed an anti-ANC student group and gave up to \$35 million to opponents of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) in the 1990 Namibian independence elections.

The July 19 *New Nation* carried detailed charges by a black former member of the South African Army special forces. He alleged that members of his unit massacred blacks on a Johannesburg commuter train last September. The attack was part of an upsurge of violence following the government's lifting last year of its ban on the ANC.

More than 5,000 blacks have been killed in political violence since 1987. Most died in clashes with Inkatha and other black vigilantes or the police and army, while others died at the hands of government death squads, ANC supporters and anti-government mobs. Government officials regularly ignored charges of official misconduct, including eyewitness affidavits and court findings, but the documents proving aid to Inkatha gave de Klerk a credibility crisis just as talks with the ANC neared.

De Klerk demoted Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and Defense Minister Magnus Malan to minor Cabinet posts on July 30, pledging to end state funding of political groups. He also announced plans to appoint a non-partisan commission to investigate allegations of security force partiality and softened his opposition to ANC calls for a multi-party interim government. The scale of Vlok and Malan's covert empire became clearer the next day when the *Johannesburg Citizen* reported that de Klerk had just closed at least 41 of their ministries' secret funding schemes for political groups. (The pro-government daily has had good security force contacts since it was founded with secret government funds in the mid-'70s.) Still more projects continue and are to be reviewed by a special panel.

Business as usual: The cabinet changes have at least temporarily weakened the position of the powerful security apparatus, but their long-term impact remains unclear. Vlok, affable but ineffective, has been replaced by Hernus Kriel, reputedly a no-nonsense man, but also reportedly a Malan confidant. The sinister defense minister, widely

thought to have tolerated death squads, will be replaced by Roelf Meyer. Meyer is a political chameleon who appeared flexible in his most recent post in charge of constitutional negotiations, but was a loyal deputy police minister when the ANC was banned and death squads ran rampant.

Earlier, de Klerk had pledged to act if proof of official wrongdoing was produced, yet he brushed aside ANC calls to disband the army special forces, leaving critics uneasy. Moreover, even as he promised to avoid repeating the Inkatha payments, he endorsed the demoted ministers' demonstrably false claims that the gifts were intended to encourage opposition to sanctions rather than to support a specific political party. He justified South Africa's aid against SWAPO by citing U.S. help to the National Opposition Union (UNO) in Nicaragua's election last year. Shaun Johnson, political editor of Johannesburg's *Star*, called this "Oliver North-style politics."

But the new ministers will not find reforming the security forces easy. The Special Forces are semi-autonomous and trained to make actions "deniable." Documents on their activities have disappeared when sought by investigators.

Recognizing this, the ANC, while regarding the reshuffling as inadequate, reacted in muted terms. Deputy Secretary-General Jacob Zuma said that the institutional culture of the security services cannot be changed overnight. Unquestionably, the ANC's hand has been strengthened for the constitutional talks expected in the next few months. The scandal led the liberal white opposition Democratic Party to endorse the ANC's call for an interim government and has improved prospects for a united negotiating front of black opposition parties

INSIDE STORY

(excluding Inkatha). The ANC should also benefit from the blow to de Klerk's image among blacks. Before the Inkatha scandal broke, several polls put the president's black support at up to 30 percent. Yet with his July 30 moves, de Klerk skillfully pre-empted a decisive shift in the overall balance of power in favor of the ANC and placated white liberals and the major Western powers at the same time.

Moreover, the ANC is not without blame for the recent violence, which has been fueled in part by its supporters' attacks on black township councilors and police whom they considered sellouts. Ironically, the focus on the government's aid to Inkatha may reduce pressure on the ANC to examine its own role in the black-on-black incidents.

The Party's not over: The tribally-based Inkatha Party seems likely to get off lightly from the scandal bearing its name. A scapegoat has already resigned—M.Z. Khumalo, personal assistant to Inkatha President Gatsha Buthelezi—and Inkatha has repaid the state money it received. Thus it considers the affair over.

Polls conducted before the scandal showed that Inkatha support was strongest among poorly-educated rural Zulus. Other backers included urbanites isolated in tightly controlled migrant workers' hostels and shantytowns. These unsophisticated groups have probably heard little about the scandal from their main news sources—state radio and the Inkatha-owned Zulu-language press—and care even less.

During the scandal, the violence has continued unabated. Two more attacks on black train commuters were launched in late July in an apparent gesture of defiance. Inkatha members attacked ANC supporters in the city of Richmond, Natal province, and drove others out of a squatter camp in the heart of Soweto, Johannesburg's main black township.

Thus three weeks after the Inkatha funding scandal broke, South Africa's political atmosphere has changed, but its underlying conflicts persevere.

Craig Charney is a Yale graduate student doing Ph.D. research in South Africa.

CONTENTS

Inside Story: South Africa scandal no surprise	2
Chlorine: unsafe for any need?	3
The First Stone/In Person	4
In Short	6
Another page in Leonard Peltier's legal battle	7
Tentative victory for labor	8
Thomas nomination a GOP coup	9
Bush and the hostage drama	11
Nicaragua merges democracy and revolution	12
Editorial	14
Letters/Sylvia	15
Dialogue: Two views on the Democratic Leadership Council	16
Life in the U.S.: Radicals rewarded	18
In Print: <i>Spirit of Crazy Horse</i> and Rushdie's ruminations	20
A <i>Breath Taken</i> photo exhibition	21
Classifieds	23
A stellar disappointment	24

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1991 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 15, No. 30) published Aug. 7, 1991, for newsstand sales Aug. 7-20, 1991.

By David Moberg

THE SCIENCE FICTION MOVIES OF THE '50S were right after all. There really are aliens among us, resembling humans and other animals, but with a tiny, deadly difference. Stealthily they sneak into their Earth victims' bodies, take up permanent residence and then wreak havoc on their unsuspecting hosts.

But these aliens aren't from outer space. They're kin to Frankenstein, monsters from a terrestrial laboratory that veered out of control. After years of fighting them one by one, many defenders of the Earth are now convinced that there is only one solution: banish them all from the face of the planet.

These real-life intruders are a vast class of chemicals—organochlorines, or chlorinated hydrocarbons, ranging from some everyday plastics, like polyvinyl chloride (PVC), to exotic ultra-toxics like the dioxins and furans.

Chlorine, which does not exist in nature in its elemental form, was first created as the unwanted by-product of a century-old salt-splitting process intended to produce alkali. Scientists soon discovered that chlorine, when combined with various organic building blocks, formed a broad new range of organochlorines, compounds that occur rarely in nature. For a while, organochlorines remained a chemical curiosity, but with the petrochemical industry's post-war boom, the commercial production of organochlorines also took off.

Fooling Mother Nature: Many of these compounds are highly toxic—associated with various cancers, birth defects, reproductive disorders, and immune system deficiencies—and are extremely persistent in the environment. Even when chlorinated compounds do break down, they often produce a complex array of by-products that are even more toxic and persistent than the original chemical.

And manufactured organochlorines resemble natural substances so closely that they are readily incorporated into the internal chemistry of living organisms, accumulating in higher concentrations at the top of the food chain—where humans reside.

Barry Commoner, the noted environmentalist who directs the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems at Queens College, says, "Chlorinated compounds are largely responsible for the toxic effects of the chemical industry." Commoner, who offered the "alien" analogy at the beginning of this article, argues that organochlorines are "the worst actors among toxic chemicals."

Some organochlorines are particularly notorious: among them DDT, ozone depleting chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), mirex, dieldrin, chlordane and heptachlor. The U.S. government has banned or tightly restricted these organochlorines, acknowledging their hazards to animals, humans and the global environment. But a great number remain unregulated.

This summer, Greenpeace, the international environmental group, is launching a campaign to ban the production of elemental chlorine and all organochlorines. Greenpeace, along with several leading researchers, rejects the standard approach of reviewing each chemical individually and prohibiting it only when there is a clear association of the chemical with a specific tumor



Chlorine compounds: unsafe for any need?

or illness. This approach ignores the pattern of evidence that indicts the whole class of chemicals, and fails to take into account the complex environmental impact of organochlorines.

There are more than 11,000 organochlorines with varied effects, "but there are no organochlorines that are not toxic," argues Joe Thornton, author of a new Greenpeace report, "The Product is the Poison." According to Thornton, even organochlorines that are only mildly toxic at one stage in their life cycle can be transformed into much more dangerous compounds during production, decomposition or incineration. Given such evidence, Commoner says, "Chlorinated organic compounds should be regarded as guilty until proven innocent."

Bomb the ban: Not surprisingly, the Chlorine Institute, a trade organization, believes the proposed ban is unscientific and unworkable. Chlorine "is intrinsic to human society," argues spokesman Joseph Walker, "and we're not all dropping like flies."

Whatever its environmental impact, chlorine's economic impact is enormous. According to the Chlorine Institute, chlorine production is a \$5 billion a year business, employing more than 30,000 Americans. And the 12 million tons of organochlorines produced annually in the U.S. are used to manufacture a diverse array of products including bleached paper, most pesticides, plastics (primarily PVC, much of it used in construction), solvents (from auto body degreasers to dry cleaning fluids) and purified water.

But even if chlorine has become part of daily life, it is not irreplaceable. There are substitutes available for almost every chlorinated product, with the possible exception of a few pharmaceuticals.

In some cases, replacing organochlorines would require minimal disruption. Alternative methods of paper bleaching, a process that currently discharges tons of chlorinated compounds into lakes and streams, could be instituted with relative ease. In other cases—America's chemical-intensive agriculturalists come to mind—the shift would require a wrenching change of deeply embedded practices. But the growth in organic agriculture among U.S. farmers, the world's most pesticide dependent, shows that even

this industry is capable of rethinking its use of chlorine compounds.

Despite the growing recognition that some organochlorines are clearly persistent and hazardous, many still assume that common organochlorines, such as the major solvents used in industry, quickly break down into harmless by-products or dissipate into the upper atmosphere. But in a new Greenpeace study, chemist and toxicologist Robert Ginsburg calculated that at least 6.8 million pounds of persistent toxics are pumped annually into the Great Lakes Basin. Although the solvents themselves quickly evaporate, they break down into new, dangerous and long-lasting compounds that enter the lake systems as contaminated rain.

Greenpeace has focused increasing attention on the Great Lakes Basin—which contains more than 20 percent of the world's surface fresh water—warning that the surrounding industries have turned the basin into an organochlorine sink. But Theo Colborn, a pharmacologist with the W. Alton Jones Foundation and author of *Great Lakes. Great Legacy* argues that the Great Lakes are no worse than average. "There's no individual on Earth without measureable levels of [organochlorine] contamination," she says. Colborn, who supports a ban, says organochlorine pollution "is really a global problem."

Chlorine's canaries: Even if a chlorine ban were enacted today, problems associated with the disposal of existing organochlorines would persist. Also, even if overall levels of discharge dropped, the concentration of the most dangerous organochlorines—often the breakdown products—would remain high for many years.

One of the challenges in making the case against organochlorines is that there are so many different organochlorines spread throughout the environment, and each one is capable of acting alone or interacting with another. Thus, tracing individual effects outside the laboratory is extremely difficult. According to Colborn, even "a breath" of the most toxic substances—measured in parts per trillion or less—has been associated with serious organic damage, especially if the molecules are present during fetal development.

Although scientists are still debating exactly how organochlorines harm humans and animals, numerous studies have linked organochlorines to the rapidly declining numbers of lake trout, bald eagles and other wildlife in the Great Lakes. These animals, with their shorter reproductive cycle, may well be the proverbial "canaries in the mine" warning of human risks.

The only major study of organochlorine effects on humans in the Great Lakes—comparing mothers who ate Lake Michigan fish with those who didn't—showed that the children of fish-eating mothers were born earlier, weighed less, had smaller heads, showed a wide range of behavioral problems and exhibited learning disabilities.

According to Jack Vallentyne, co-chair of the Great Lakes Science Advisory Board, an official U.S.-Canadian body that has recommended phasing out organochlorines and related chemicals, the greatest risk from organochlorines may not be to those who ingest them but to fetuses and future generations. In the past, Colborn says, researchers looked primarily for cancers, neglecting to analyze exposed infants for signs of increased mental dullness and other less obvious effects.

As usual, workers are also "canaries" for the rest of us, since they're exposed to much higher levels of these chemicals on the job. Earlier this year a study from the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health found that a high-risk group of workers exposed to dioxin suffered a 40 percent higher level of cancer overall and about nine times the normal rate of soft tissue sarcoma. Greenpeace has linked up with workers in its campaign, joining the International Paper Workers in fighting the International Paper Company, a major polluter in the Great Lakes and elsewhere. It is also advocating the taxation of chlorine to create a "workers' superfund" to help displaced chemical workers.

Sooner or later, the production of chlorine and organochlorines results in high risk of pervasive problems, from organically damaged future generations to destruction of the ozone layer. Yet there are effective alternatives available for everything chlorine does. Pollution prevention, argues Greenpeace, is the only solution to the dangers of a chlorinated world.

By Joel Bleifuss

Calling this planet to order

Though we should all rejoice at the good fortune of the Soviet people to be free at last, it has been their misfortune to be released into a world where corporate capitalism reigns triumphant.

When Mikhail Gorbachov traveled to London last month to ask the G-7 leaders for financial support, the U.S. press described his journey as that of a mendicant, cup rattler, etc. The *New York Times*' R.W. "Johnny" Apple, in a summit wrap-up, analyzed the meeting between the "Bolshevik beggar" and the "Board of Directors of Planet Earth." According to Apple, "Western leaders" hope to "link the Soviet bureaucracy with those of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and the G-7 treasuries" in order to turn "a failed command economy into a thriving market economy." Pack up your troubles. Stike up the band...

and thrive, thrive, thrive: Let's examine a few of the effects of a "thriving market economy" here in the U.S.

Last month the Centers for Disease Control reported that black Americans can, on average, expect to thrive 6.4 years less than whites. In fact, due to a variety of poverty-related factors, African-American life expectancy has dropped for the third year in a row. It now stands at 69.2 years. On the other hand, whites live longer as their life expectancy continues to rise to a present record of 75.6 years. Consider this extrapolation: the 30 million blacks in the U.S. would enjoy an additional 192 million years on Planet Earth if poverty didn't prevent them from enjoying the same life expectancy as whites.

The "thriving market economy" has also done quite a number on American children. According to 1991's *Green Book*, the informal title of a bulky economic report released each spring by the House Ways and Means Committee, about 20.4 percent of American children live in poverty. How does this compare to Western Europe? According to *Green Book* statistics, 4.7 percent of French children live in poverty, 4 percent of Dutch children, 3.3 percent of British children, 2.8 percent of West German children and .9 percent of Swedish children. Isaac Shapiro and Robert Greenstein write in a report by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities: "The private economy in the U.S. generates more relative poverty among children than the private economies of many other Western, industrialized nations—and the U.S. then does far less than the other nations to address this problem."

Not everyone would agree with the tenor of these observations. Free-market optimists might criticize them as liberal naysaying, preferring to take the view that a child's stomach is half full, rather than half empty.

Of course, if you count yourself among America's richest 1 percent you have reason for optimism. You are truly thriving. According to the *Green Book*, between 1977 and 1988, adjusting for inflation, the after-tax income of this richest 1 percent rose 122 percent—from \$203,000 in 1977 to \$451,000 in 1988. During the same period the poorest 20 percent of U.S. households saw their average after-tax income fall by 10 percent.

The *Green Book* statistics further indicate that for the first time since the end of World War II, the total after-tax income for the wealthiest 20 percent of Americans equaled the after-tax income of the other 80 percent of the population.

Rather than enroll the Soviets in a World Bank tutorial, Bush might sign himself up for a few lessons in Western European social democracy. And while Bush is off taking a lesson in unalienable rights, let's register him in a refresher course on the environment.

During the G-7 summit Bush, the CEO of Planet Earth, as *Times* Apple might say, opposed European plans to curb CO₂ emissions, the principal cause of the greenhouse effect and the resulting global warming. Bush, however, doesn't believe there is a problem, and this year, like last year, he blocked attempts by other G-7 members to curtail the production of greenhouse gases. EEC Director General for the Environment Laurens Binkhorst commented that the U.S. "emits twice as much carbon dioxide per capita as anyone except the Eastern European countries."

The whole world in his hands: On July 23, a week after Bush derailed efforts to curb CO₂ emissions, the CEO of Planet Earth appointed 25 men and women to the President's Commission on Environmental Quality. The White House hopes that the commission can devise ways to reduce both pollution and the money polluting industries will spend conforming to Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) regulations. As the White House statement announcing the commission's formation put it: "The



Joan Conrow

Noa Emmett Aluli: holistic islander

By Joan Conrow

It was 7:15 on a recent Sunday evening, and Dr. Noa Emmett Aluli was pissed, in his low-key sort of way. While he was off on another island rallying native Hawaiians to participate in an upcoming public hearing, someone had stolen the tape deck and siphoned all the gas from his light blue VW bug. Still, he was philosophical about his loss at the airport parking lot, attributing it to the changing times on Molokai, the small, rural island where he makes his home.

Those changing times and a deeply held concern about how they are affecting his fellow native Hawaiians have combined to make Aluli one of Hawaii's most indefatigable and visible political organizers. For 15 years he has served on the front lines in all the major battles—the military's bombing of Kaho'olawe island, the geothermal development in a Big Island rain forest, the mass excavation of ancient burials on Maui, recognition of traditional religions and land-access rights, creation of a sovereign nation—and fought numerous smaller skirmishes over land use on Molokai.

Aluli, a gentle, soft-spoken man with a ready smile, would question the use of those militaristic metaphors to describe his work for the Hawaiian people. He believes in direct confrontation, peaceful demonstration and civil disobedience, but couldn't see himself resorting to monkey-wrenching, much less armed revolution. Although his is a level of commitment usually reserved for professionals, Aluli says his activism is more lifestyle than occupation. His real job, he will tell you, is country doctor.

Yet even in his role as a general practitioner, Aluli is driven by his commitment to native Hawaiians. As one of seven doctors serving the 6,000-plus residents of Molokai, where two-thirds of the population are part or pure Hawaiian, he is the only physician at the Molokai Family Health Center

who will treat welfare recipients. They comprise half his client load, which may consist of 30 to 35 patients in a typical 10-hour day. They are often difficult cases—requiring extra follow-up and education, less likely to follow doctor's orders, more likely to sue—but they are also the people who need him the most.

"I used to like birthing more than anything else," he says. When asked why, he answers, simply, "New life." But he had to stop delivering babies when his malpractice insurance premiums skyrocketed to \$17,000 a year. He still cares for the newborns, along with the grandparents who are ready to die and all the family members in between. He enjoys his practice, but, like everything else on Molokai, it's going through a transition.

"My patients used to give me fish and vegetables, whatever they could afford," he says. "That's how I used to make it when I first got started, and it made medicine so meaningful." Although he occasionally still gets fish, the state Department of Human Services now picks up the tab for many of his less affluent patients. As a result, he says, "their expectations have changed because someone else is paying for it. They think, 'I can get sloppy about my health because someone else is gonna take care of me.'"

That's an attitude Aluli is trying to change through his presidency of Na Pu'uwai, a non-profit organization responsible for implementing the federally funded Native Hawaiian Health Care System on Molokai and Lanai. He envisions the program "taking a holistic approach, acknowledging the importance of *ohana* (family) as an integral part of an individual's overall health and respecting traditional native Hawaiian health-care practices and beliefs.

Aluli has studied *la'au lapa'au* (traditional herbal medicine) and conducted medical research in an effort to understand why Hawaiians have more health problems than any other ethnic group in the state. His studies on the decline in chronic disease when native Hawaiians return to their traditional

diet and the causes of obesity and cardiovascular risk factors for adults have been widely recognized. Science aside, for Aluli there's no ignoring the direct connection between native Hawaiians' health problems, the steady loss of their land and the decline of their culture. For him, medicine and politics are inextricably linked. One interest drives the other.

Not surprisingly, Aluli's professional and personal choices have prevented him from achieving the material successes enjoyed by most doctors. He lives alone in a modestly comfortable house he and his four brothers recently built on Hawaiian Homes Lands in Hoolehua, a place where the ancients had 19 names for the different winds that blow. The house belongs to younger brother Hayden; Aluli has not decided if he will keep his house on a Big Island homestead. Boxes filled with files are pushed against the walls of the living room and stacks of paperwork overwhelm several tables. A computer, fax machine and three telephones installed at strategic locations both upstairs and down offer additional proof that his bright and airy home does double-duty as an office. But he enjoys his simple surroundings and marvels at the luxury of having hot water and a washer-dryer for the first time since moving to Molokai in 1975.

"I never had those desires—country clubs, BMWs," says the 47-year-old doctor. "Maybe it's because I thought I'd never make it. It's very hard to make it materially in Hawaii. It could also be because of the people I identify with and get along with. I don't know anybody who's rich that I'd like to hang around with."

Hawaiian roots: Aluli describes his own upbringing as "upper class for a Hawaiian, but for everybody else, real middle class." His father was a house painter, his mother stayed home. Surrounded by his own large *ohana* (family), with 24 of his 104 first cousins living on the same street, Aluli was insulated from the Kaneohe Marine Base families who resided near him in suburban Kailua on the island of Oahu. Through songs and traditional foods, bedtime stories steeped in Hawaiian legends, conversations with his grandparents and carefree summers with his cousins in the mountains and at the beach, he developed a strong sense of his Hawaiian culture. His parents were proud of being Hawaiian. They also instilled in him "a sense of responsibility for Hawaiians who weren't making it," he says. "I was aware of that at a very early age."

But he also remembers feeling self-conscious about looking different—darker—than the other kids in the Catholic schools he attended. He and his brothers felt the need to prove themselves, "to fight, and we competed and excelled in surfing, sports and academics." Upon graduation, he still had to fight, but this time it was with his parents, who wanted him to join the Army to further his education. Aluli had other ideas. He won a scholarship to Marquette University in Wisconsin and left Hawaii for the first time in his life. He returned after graduation—"this is my home"—and in 1975 was a member of the first graduating class of the University of Hawaii School of Medicine.

It was upon moving to Molokai, however, that the second phase of Aluli's education began. Although he had been politically aware for some time and had operated on the fringe of the Hawaiian movement, he didn't commit himself to politics until he first visited Kahoolawe at the age of 30. Kahoolawe, a small island off the coast of Maui, had been used for target practice by the military since World War II and was off-limits to civilians. For him, the island was the subject of numerous childhood stories and endless fascination. It was also becoming a focal point for Hawaiians who wanted to reclaim their land. Aluli was among the first Hawaiians to visit the island after it fell under military control, and he and his companions were stunned and moved by what they saw.

"It made us kind of cry to see this land that was barren and had no people on it, no water," he said. "It was devastated, eroded, covered with ordnance. I'd never experienced land crying, complaining, asking for help. I felt some sort of presence, some specialness about it. It obligated me, got me thinking, 'You'd better start paying attention to land, looking at how come land is so significant.'"

Aluli returned to occupy the island three times and was arrested once for trespassing, a charge he beat on the grounds of religious freedom. The experience marked a new direction for Aluli's life and set a precedent for allowing Hawaiians access to the island. The military has now stopped the bombing, and Aluli recently was appointed to the Kahoolawe Island Conveyance Commission, a panel charged with overseeing the return of the island to the state of Hawaii.

Letting the dead rest: His organization also has prompted other breakthroughs. Huge native protests against the excavation of more than 2,000 ancient human remains to make way for the Ritz Carlton on Maui led him to organize island burial councils that are now recognized by the state and charged with monitoring issues involving Hawaiian burials. He also helped found the Pele Defense Fund, a group that has gained international support for its efforts to stop geothermal development in a Big Island rain forest. In that case, too, he has attempted to force Western courts to recognize traditional Hawaiian religious and access rights. Although the lawsuits have been unsuccessful, Aluli feels vindicated because they helped make Hawaiians more aware of the intricate relationship between their land and their culture and religion.

"The land is the religion, the land is the culture," he says. "People have got to know that. Otherwise, it just becomes this academic thing. It's all about protecting the resources, honoring them, respecting them as god-forces and having those places that were recognized as sacred places continue on."

Closest to home, Aluli is very active in Molokai issues, working to limit resort development, to keep rural families on their land on the island's scenic east end, to create economic alternatives to tourism and to protect access rights to the shoreline. Hawaiians are progressing, he says, but their culture will not survive without a land base. The push now is toward self-determination and direct control over the vast land holdings that the state and various trusts have been administering since the U.S. overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1883.

A land base: "The kids nowadays need to feel that there are some victories, that culture isn't just speaking Hawaiian and that hula isn't just a dance," he says. "It's the relationship to the land—and feeling like that land base will be around in the future to influence the culture."

There's still a lot of work to be done, but Aluli says his role is winding down. "I've been consistent. I've been persistent. I've shown that I'm not just some fly-by-night politician trying to use Hawaiian claims to better my own practice and lead me to a more lucrative job. I've hung in there with the grass-roots, trying to find a solution. But I see it all peaking in about two years. I've done enough."

Looking ahead, he envisions himself moving to the sidelines, letting the younger generation take over the political work, maybe finally raising a family and starting a quieter practice in another rural area of Hawaii. But it is unlikely Aluli will ever be able to pull back completely as long as his medical practice continues to serve native Hawaiians. "You can solve their health problems, but the other issues are more deep-seated because they involve economics, culture, family dynamics," he says. "For me, I guess, that's the drive—to make it happen, to put it all into a wholeness." □

Joan Conrow is a journalist based in Hanelei, Hawaii.

costs of the traditional regulatory regime are substantial and many issues do not lend themselves to regulatory solutions." Sound suspicious? It gets worse. What follows is a partial list of the 25 people on the Commission on Environmental Quality who will shape U.S. and world environmental policies for the Bush administration.

1. **Michael Deland**, chairman of White House Council on Environmental Quality and commission chairman. He once headed EPA Region 1 (New England) where he was known for delaying the cleanup of Superfund sites.

2. **William Ruckelshaus**, CEO of Browning-Ferris Industries, commission vice chairman. Ruckelshaus is paid \$1 million plus to head Browning-Ferris, the nation's second largest garbage enterprise. The company has a long criminal record including felony convictions for violating anti-trust laws, dumping toxic wastes in the Ohio River and a substantial record of fines for violating environmental regulations. Connections to the mob are alleged. Ruckelshaus headed the EPA under both Nixon and Reagan. He left the Reagan EPA to set up a consulting agency that pioneered an effort to bring together corporate polluters and their insurance companies in an effort to skirt environmental cleanup costs. From there he went on to establish the Coalition on Superfund, a group whose purpose was to destroy Superfund liability provisions. To that end he enlisted Conservation Foundation head Bill Reilly to get other environmental groups involved. The Coalition issued a report claiming that Superfund wasn't working. But the National Resources Defense Council discovered the scam and the coalition fell apart. Ruckelshaus, an old hand at trying to co-opt the environmental movement, reportedly urged Bush to appoint the Conservation Foundation's Reilly to head the EPA.

3. **Edwin Artzt**, Proctor and Gamble. P&G, a big polluter, is a potentially responsible party at a number of Superfund sites. The company has gotten environmental mileage out of packaging fruit juice concentrate in small paper boxes.

4. **Marguerite Ross Barnett**, president of the University of Houston. The university is renowned for its strong basketball program and even stronger ties to the oil industry.

5. **Riley Bechtel**, Bechtel Group Inc. The Bechtel family is closely associated with the Reagan and Bush administrations. The company, the largest consulting engineering firm in the U.S., builds nuclear power plants and petrochemical plants.

6. **Dean Buntrock**, Waste Management Inc. According to Brian Lipsett of Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste, "Buntrock's company has been convicted on numerous occasions for antitrust, bribery and price fixing—tactics clearly associated with organized crime. Its most frequent partner in crime has been Browning Ferris." Waste Management is also involved in the environmentally fraudulent practice known as "plastic recycling." As Father Joseph O'Brian of Our Lady Star of the Sea Church in Port Isabel, Texas, said, "Calling Dean Buntrock a recycler is like naming Jack the Ripper surgeon general."

7. **Richard Clarke**, Pacific Gas and Electric Company. The company has a vested interest in increased consumption of oil and gas and was a contributing polluter at three Superfund clean-up sites.

8. **Kenneth Derr**, Chevron Corporation. The company wants to open oil fields to off-shore oil drilling. Chevron is party to a suit against 29 cities that asks them to share in the clean-up cost of a Superfund site.

9. **Robert Fri**, president of Resources for the Future and its subsidiary, Center for Risk Management. This "environmental" organization is almost entirely funded by the petrochemical and garbage industry. The group's purpose is to manipulate public perception of the risks from industrial pollution through nonsensical analogies, like, it is more dangerous to drive than to live next to a Superfund site. The chairman of the center's advisory council is Ruckelshaus. The center receives money from Waste Management and Browning Ferris.

10. **Kathryn Fuller**, head of World Wildlife Fund and Conservation Foundation. Fuller took over these organizations when Reilly went off to head the EPA. The World Wildlife Fund and the Conservation Foundation can best be characterized as two of the three most "industry friendly" groups in the U.S. environmental movement. (You won't find representatives from "radical" environmental groups like the Sierra Club or the Audubon Society on Bush's commission.) Ruckelshaus is on the board of directors of both the fund and the foundation. Fuller is on the board of Waste Management. The two organizations are heavily funded by petrochemical and garbage money, including Chevron and Waste Management.

Next issue, the list continues.

Riding for reproductive freedom

Ten women and one man are cycling across the country to carry the message that if *Roe v. Wade* is overturned, women will have to take it upon themselves to provide safe, illegal abortions. "Each and every one of us who have experienced 18 years of safe, legal abortions will not ever, ever, ever send our friends, sisters, daughters to the alleys," says one cyclist. "We will create reproductive freedoms for ourselves." The Reproductive Freedom Riders, predominantly from New York City, are distributing condoms and self-made suction abortion kits that, when administered "with care," can be used up to the seventh week of pregnancy. The riders plan to land in Seattle August 26 for Women's Equality Day, and are collecting signatures for a Women's Reproductive Bill of Rights that they plan to present to Congress at the end of their more than 4,000 mile journey.

A bleak crop

A massive labor glut, encroaching urbanization, a chronic water shortage and a plummeting standard of living are blocking the usual summer road to renewal for California's \$17 billion agricultural industry. And for the first time in decades, there is no coordinated, political voice to air the concerns and grievances of the Golden State's abundance of farmworkers, who are currently low in demand and must compete with a steady influx of low-paid Mexican migrants. Preservation of agricultural land—threatened by the state's burgeoning population, which has jumped by 7 million in the last decade—has become a popular cause, reports Diane Keaton of Pacific News Service. Five years of drought have forced farmers in some areas to cut crop production by 10 to 15 percent, while health and housing costs have soared. Says one local Salvation Army worker, "the people who feed the country have so little to live with."

Political hankies

Members of the Minnesota Business Partnership probably won't be spilling any tears into the hankies bestowed upon them by the Minnesota Alliance for Progressive Action (MAPA). The business partnership, representing 90 CEOs of the largest corporations in the state, helped underwrite a \$200,000 media campaign aimed at cutting state spending and countering proposals to increase income taxes on the wealthy. In protest, MAPA distributed hankies at the State Capitol building earlier this year reading "LOOK WHO'S CRYING!" and "We say: GIVE 'EM A HANKY!" The hankies also list eight of the partnership's board members—hailing from such corporations as Honeywell, Dayton Hudson and General Mills—along with their annual compensation, which ranges from \$1 million to \$3.4 million. Contact MAPA at (612) 338-1648.

Taxing snacks

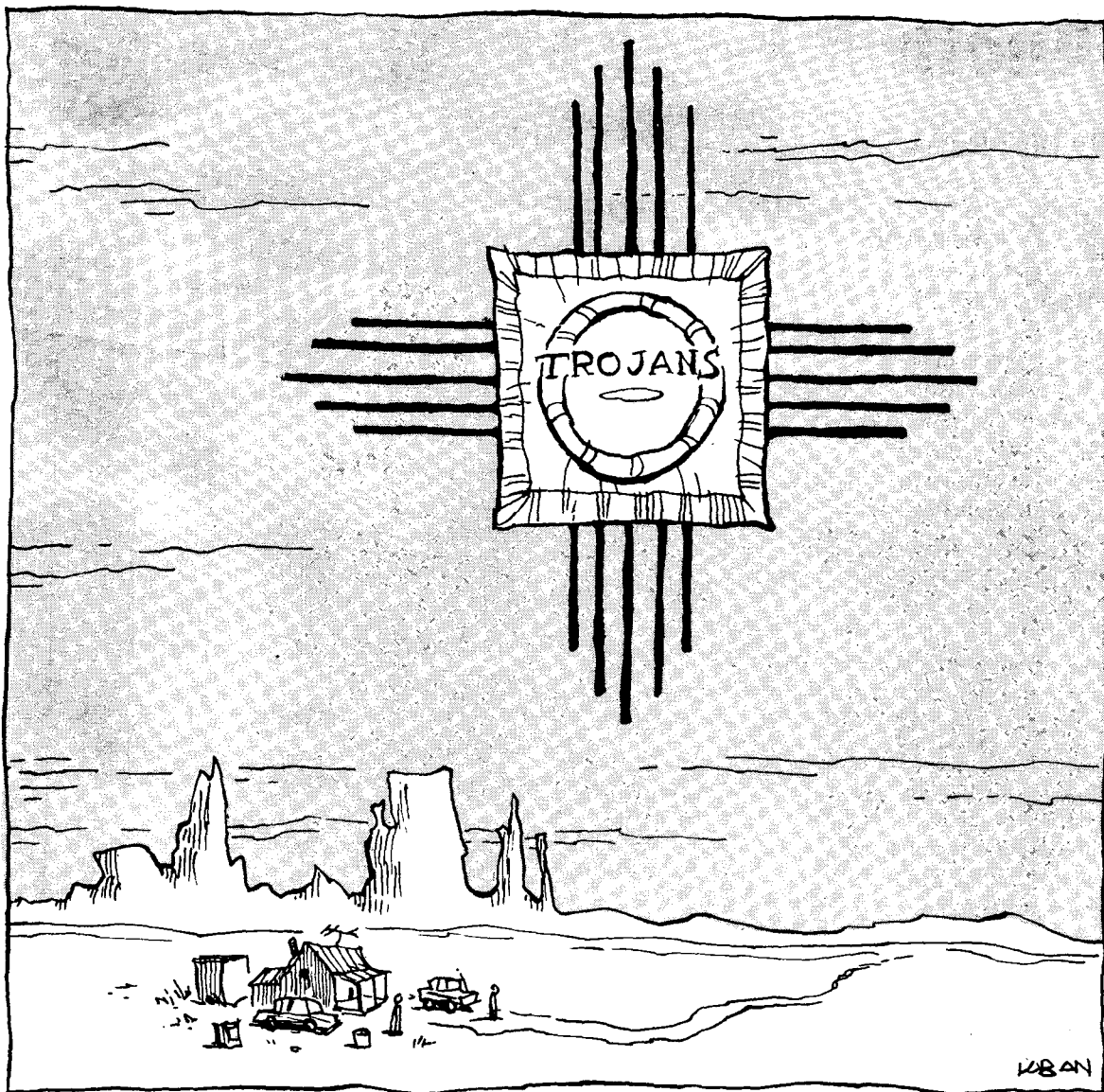
A snack is a snack is a snack, unless it's a soda cracker or a pork rind or an ice cream bar or a pastry. And unless it's in California. In the shadow of a \$14 billion deficit, the state legislature recently imposed a "snack tax," expected to garner \$200 million in revenue, reports National Public Radio's Linda Wertheimer. Californians will have to pay more for Twinkies, Fritos and Ho-Hos—snacks by any definition. But if you have to thaw it out or heat it up or substitute it for bread, well, in California, it's food. While the new law lets local bakeries off the hook, such "nutritional paternalism" has led to a lot of "nutritional nonsense," says the chairman of the state's Board of Equalization. "How do I explain to voters that ... a jelly doughnut is not a snack, but a cupcake is."

First we'll take Connecticut

Saying all political dialogue in America has become "too narrowly conceived to make an impact on a vast body of American people," Rev. Jesse Jackson will lead a weeklong march this month through Connecticut to dramatize the plight of the poor, the privilege of the prosperous and the profanities of politics. Modeled after the civil rights marches of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the march is set to begin August 11 in Connecticut's bankrupt city, Bridgeport, and conclude August 17 at the state's capitol in Hartford. Marchers will pass through communities that reveal the state's worst pockets of poverty and best displays of affluence. "I would hope that the impact of the movement in Connecticut would be contagious," to become a model for the rest of the nation" Jackson explained.

Please send timely news about local activities, follow-ups on stories we've run or other interesting bits of information—including your address and phone number—to: Kira Jones, In These Times, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

IN SHORT



AIDS and myth-breaking on the reservation

Mingled with many timeless myths pervading Tohono O'odham Indian culture is a contemporary one that could prove deadly: that AIDS is someone else's headache.

Gloria Nez and Arlene Joaquin are working hard to dispel such notions. Traversing the tribe's huge Sells Reservation west of Tucson, Ariz., the O'odham women spread information among the 15,000 residents about a deadly—and colorblind—disease.

They've been pleasantly surprised by how many are willing to listen.

"When we first started going out, the response was, 'I don't want to hear about it. I'm not gay,'" Nez says. "They would simply turn the other way."

Now she says the AIDS Thuth Mu'a O'odham (AIDS Is Killing O'odham) Project, with only two employees, has become familiar to even the most remote villages dotting this parched, 5,000-square-mile reservation. The women's van, adorned with traditional O'odham symbols, often gets waved down on the road.

"They stop us and ask for condoms," Nez says. "They joke around when they see us, and they say, 'Oh, there goes the AIDS ladies.'"

The women joined the fray in 1989, signing up as volunteers for the tribe's AIDS Education Project.

Nez, 39, was a secretary caring for her ailing father; at 33, Joaquin had already been touched by the disease when it killed her former lover and father to her son.

"I wasn't aware of it at all before that," Joaquin says. "I didn't know how it was transmitted or how to protect yourself. No one told me anything."

With time, Joaquin says, she came to understand what AIDS could do to her people. "Once this virus hits the reservation, it will wipe out the whole nation," she says, citing alcoholism and intravenous drug use as heavy contributors to the potential crisis.

"It leads to promiscuous behavior, things that wouldn't happen if people were sober. It's the biggest problem on the reservation."

When the Thuth Mu'a project was created, sponsored by the Tucson-based social service agency La Frontera and a trial grant from the U.S. Congress of Mayors, Nez and Joaquin were hired as community educators. They were sent to Berkeley, Calif., for training in AIDS counseling and became certified to do anonymous testing.

Because they are also O'odham, they've been able to develop a community rapport that might have taken others years to develop. The women reserve two or three days for home visits and spend the rest of their week mailing condoms and pamphlets and speaking to schools and community groups. On Fridays they work out of La Frontera.

Nez says their greatest obstacle lies in convincing people that AIDS is everyone's problem. "That's what I try to stress to them. I tell them that this virus isn't going to say, 'I'm not going to go there because those people are native Americans.'"

"A lot of people leave the reservation to go work in cities. But they always come back, and it's very possible they could bring it with them."

To date, no O'odham have tested positive for HIV. But the women think some sort of outbreak is inevitable. But just as the project is gaining acceptance, it simultaneously faces dwindling funds as the Mayors' grant dries up. And O'odham tribal government has actively ignored the issue in the past, even failing to recognize the pair when they won a Tucson newspaper's yearly civic service award.

Following recent tribal elections, however, new Chairman Josiah Moore immediately created the O'odham Office on AIDS. He has also called on local county government to provide more than \$70,000 for the Thuth Mu'a Project, a request county officials are resisting.

Meanwhile, Nez and Joaquin just keep working, distributing condoms and information. But their sweat is not without reward.

"We don't see anybody else doing what we're doing," Nez says. "And I think we've made a difference. It used to be people didn't want to listen. Now they often take the first step and come to us."

—Tim Vanderpool

Another page in the Peltier drama

By Dick Russell

LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS

ON JULY 24, ONLY FIVE DAYS BEFORE A scheduled evidentiary hearing that defense attorneys anticipated would shed new light on government misconduct in the case of Leonard Peltier, the proceeding was abruptly cancelled by a North Dakota magistrate. Peltier, a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), was sentenced to consecutive life terms in 1977 for the murder of two FBI agents on South Dakota's Pine Ridge reservation during a shootout between the agents and AIM members on June 26, 1975—a conviction that has been disputed ever since.

Peltier has never denied taking part in the gun battle that AIM members insist was

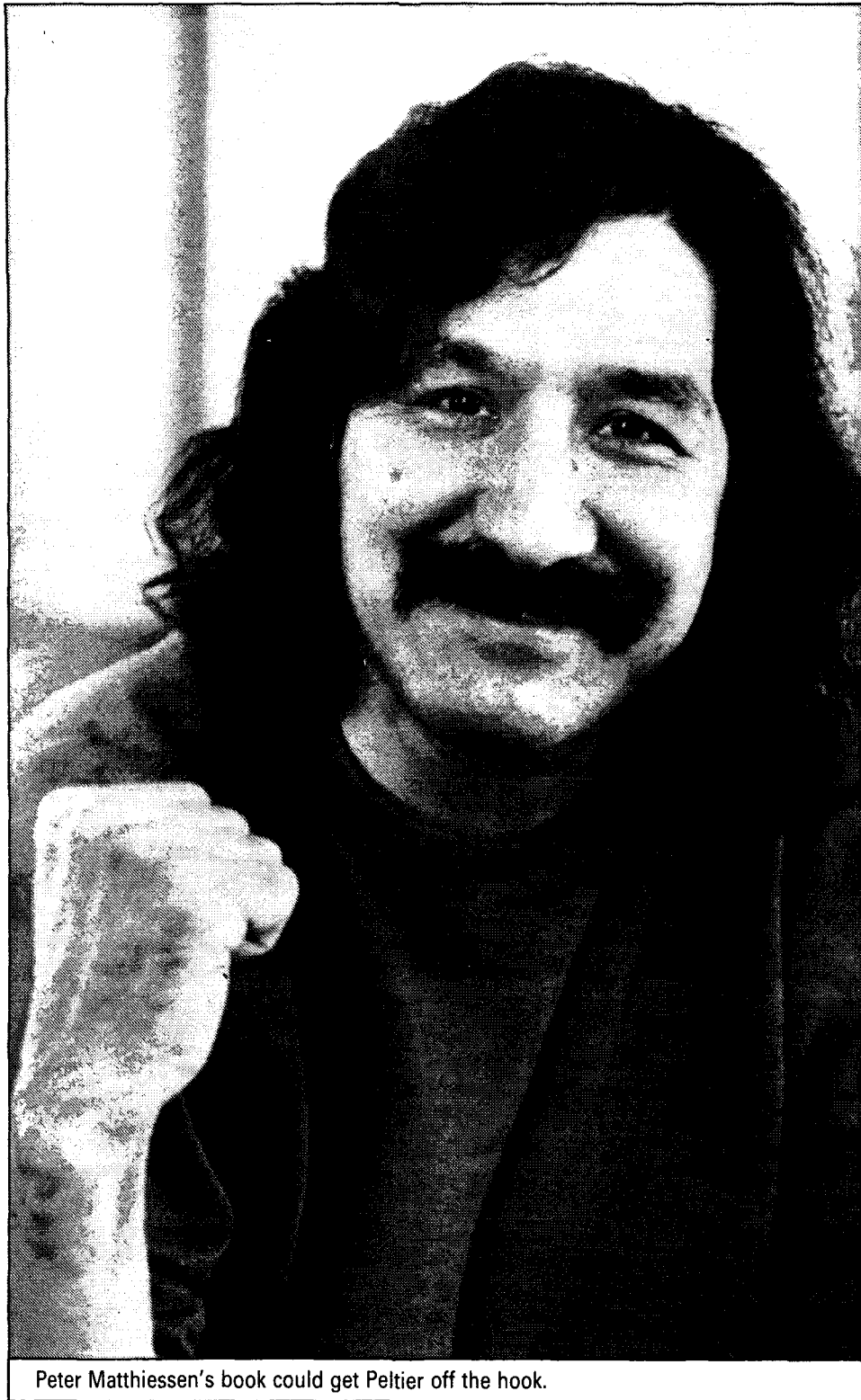
JUSTICE

triggered by the FBI. They say they fired in self-defense, and Peltier has maintained throughout his more than 15 years of imprisonment that he was framed by the U.S. government. He believes it was part of a systematic effort to destroy AIM's leadership after the group's 71-day takeover of Wounded Knee in 1973, when AIM demanded that the government uphold its legal obligations to Indian treaties and other issues of self-determination.

For more than a decade, an international legion of supporters has considered Peltier a political prisoner who was railroaded by a hostile justice system at the culmination of the FBI's anti-AIM campaign, which was carried out by infiltrators, hired goons and its own special agents. (Two other AIM members accused of the same killings as Peltier were acquitted at a separate trial in 1978. A young Indian was also killed during the shootout, but no charges have ever been brought.)

One incident that sparked the renewed worldwide interest in Peltier's case was the rerelease in May of Peter Matthiessen's book *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* (see page 20). An exhaustive look at the Peltier case that was originally published in 1983, the book was suppressed by a series of libel suits for eight years—until Matthiessen and Viking Press won a favorable court ruling last October. The 1991 version includes a new epilogue that recounts Matthiessen's two meetings last year with a hooded AIM member in which the man he calls "X" admits to having killed the FBI agents, Ron Williams and Jack Coler, in self-defense during the June 1975 shootout at Wounded Knee.

In late July, Peltier told *In These Times*: "[X] has stated that, if he is ever arrested, he'll deny everything he said [to Matthiessen], which I'd expect him to do. I hope he's never identified. I don't want him to come forward completely, where he may end up going to prison. There is no guarantee that I would be released even if he did. Our struggle was legitimate: we didn't make, imagine or create the conditions that Indian people have to live with. In any struggle, you don't turn informant against your brother. This is a good man who is very committed, still working hard for our people. If it had been



Peter Matthiessen's book could get Peltier off the hook.

left up to me, I wouldn't have ever let him come out as far as he now has."

Uncovering the coverup: Sitting in a visitor's room of the Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary on the day of the latest setback in his effort to receive a new trial, Peltier reflected: "I believe the reason [for the hearing's postponement] is all the recent media attention and the interest of some very powerful politicians in seeking justice for me. There's been a breakthrough on my behalf. The government's not going to be able to continue its coverup, and they're quite con-

cerned about it."

In a writ filed last December, Peltier contended that the U.S. government fabricated evidence, conducted surveillance of his defense attorneys and improperly influenced U.S. District Court Judge Paul Benson at Peltier's 1977 trial. (It has since been revealed that Benson, who denied the admission of much of the defense's evidence, took part in meetings outside the courtroom with FBI officials. Last March, Peltier's lawyers tried to have Benson removed from any of his future judicial proceedings, but the judge denied

"There's been a breakthrough on my behalf," says American Indian activist Leonard Peltier, who has spent the past 15 years in prison for the slaying of two FBI agents he says he did not kill. "The government's not going to be able to continue its coverup, and they're quite concerned about it."

the motion and assigned North Dakota magistrate Karen Klein to review the issues raised in the writ.

Peltier's writ also cited an "atmosphere of intimidation" aimed at the judge and jurors, through unnecessarily heavy security precautions.

But in late July, Klein recommended that all but one of the claims be dismissed, choosing to side with government lawyers on the issues. Her decision was based upon the recent Supreme Court decision *McCleskey vs. Zant*, which denied a petitioner the right to bring up issues that were not raised in earlier proceedings without showing due cause.

Klein did recommend that one of Peltier's allegations be further reviewed by Judge Benson. This involves the prosecutors' admission during a 1985 appeal proceeding that they did not really know who killed the two FBI agents and were now proceeding on the theory that Peltier was an aider and abettor.

In her written opinion, Klein explained her decision to postpone the scheduled July 29 hearing to "a date to be determined" by saying that Peltier's lawyers were entitled to a 10-day period to object to her recommendations and Judge Benson needed time to rule on her findings.

"The timing [of the hearing's cancellation] is outrageous," said Bruce Ellison, a Peltier attorney based in Rapid City, S.D., who is currently filing an objection. "If the magistrate was seriously considering postponing this hearing, why didn't she tell us a month ago when she received the government's motion for the partial dismissal of Leonard's writ? Clearly, the government is afraid of what will come out at another hearing. It is a miscarriage of justice not to consider these issues."

Another judgment: In recent months, pressure for a review of Peltier's conviction has mounted in both Congress and the courts. On June 7, Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-HA), chairman of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, wrote to President Bush requesting a private meeting to consider the status of Peltier, "whose incarceration has become the focus of an international human-rights effort." Inouye forwarded to the White House a copy of a letter written in April that he had recently received from Judge Gerald W. Heaney, who in 1986 wrote the opinion affirming Peltier's conviction for the U.S. 8th Circuit Court of Appeals.

Heaney's letter outlined circumstances that President Bush "may see fit to consider in determining whether he should take action to commute or otherwise mitigate the sentence of Leonard Peltier." After careful review of all court records concerning the 1975 confrontation between the FBI and AIM members at Pine Ridge, Heaney said he had concluded that the FBI had a "role in escalating the conflict into a firefight" and "must share the responsibility." He was also persuaded "that more than one person was involved in the shooting of the FBI agents," and that "the FBI used improper tactics in securing Peltier's extradition from Canada [where, after escaping, he was apprehended by mounties in 1978] and in otherwise investigating and trying the Peltier case."

Saying that it was time for "a healing process" to begin, Judge Heaney added: "We as a nation must treat native Americans more

Continued on page 10

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT BATTLES IN Congress this session has taken place largely unnoticed. On July 17, the House of Representatives passed a Workplace Fairness Act prohibiting businesses from hiring permanent replacements for striking workers. The bill passed by 247 to 182, not enough to withstand a presidential veto, but it garnered much more support than anyone had expected when William Clay (D-MO), acting on behalf of the AFL-CIO, introduced it last January.

Many Democrats voted for the bill out of loyalty to the AFL-CIO, which mounted an extensive local lobbying campaign. They believed they were humoring the labor federation the way a child humors a wealthy aunt who gives expensive presents in exchange

Labor will have to convince the Democratic leadership that it can gain rather than lose support locally by backing the Workplace Fairness Act.

for flattery and attention.

But few bills are more important either to labor or to the Democratic Party. If the Democrats cannot succeed in reforming the nation's labor laws, the labor movement will continue to decline, and the Democrats will lose the most powerful political base they have.

Threatening strikers: The AFL-CIO's bill would overrule a Supreme Court decision of more than 50 years ago. The 1935 National Labor Relations Act forbade any measures that "interfere with, impede or in any way diminish the right to strike." But in a 1938 case, *NLRB v. Mackay Radio and Telegraph Co.*, the court ruled that when workers struck for wages and benefits and not to protest unfair labor practices, management could hire permanent replacements.

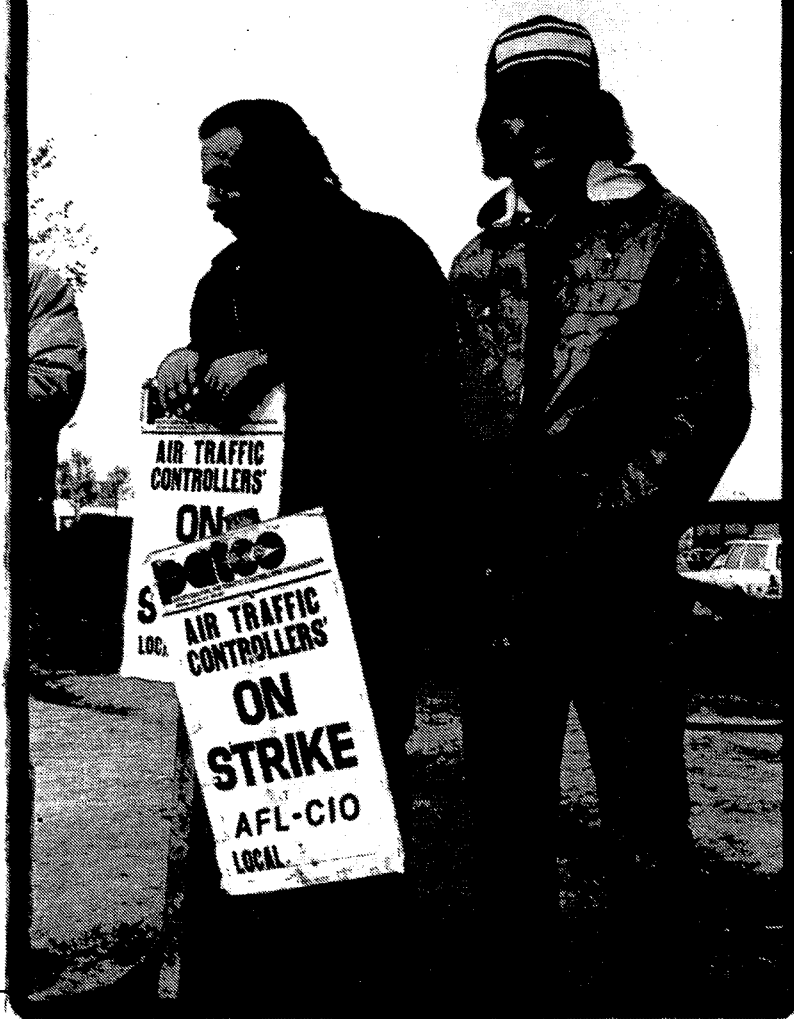
Because of public disapproval of scabs, management rarely made use of the loophole provided by *Mackay*, but Ronald Reagan's replacement of 12,000 striking air traffic controllers in 1981 inspired employers to pursue this strategy against unions. According to a General Accounting Office study released this year, management threatened to hire permanent replacements in one-third of all strikes during 1985 and 1989, and actually hired them in 17 percent of the strikes.

Management hired permanent replacements in some of the largest and most dramatic strikes of the '80s. In 1983, Phelps Dodge, a copper mining company, replaced 2,400 striking members of the Steelworkers and 13 other unions; in 1985, the *Chicago Tribune* replaced 1,000 striking printers, mailers and pressmen; in 1986, Trans World Airlines got rid of 6,000 striking flight attendants; and in 1989, Eastern Airlines' Frank Lorenzo tried to replace 30,000 striking attendants, pilots and machinists.

Management's success in many of these strikes demoralized the labor movement and discouraged workers from striking and even from organizing unions. And these ruthless management tactics contributed significantly to the continuing decline in union

Permanently replacing labor's stolen rights

LABOR



Reagan's replacement of striking PATCO workers inspired use of a legal loophole against unions.

membership, which fell from 19 percent of non-agricultural workers in 1979 to about 16 percent today. The bill sponsored by Clay in the House and Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) in the Senate won't dramatically reverse this decline, but it could certainly halt it.

Plant closing analogy: The AFL-CIO began organizing support for the Workplace Fairness Act two years ago. Under the leader-

ship of its Industrial Union Department, the federation launched state-based Workplace Fairness Committees that included union workers, church leaders and representatives from minority and women's organizations. Instead of relying on TV advertising, direct mail and pre-addressed postcards, the committees organized their members to write personal letters to and meet with their House representatives.

Management's illegal tactics have proven effective

It's fashionable among Republicans and left-wing sectarians to blame labor's decline entirely on its leadership in Washington. Much of the AFL-CIO leadership is tired, but even John L. Lewis and Walter Reuther would have had difficulty organizing during the last decade.

A prime reason for labor's loss in membership has been state and federal labor laws that favor employers. In most European countries, for instance, where a high percentage of the workforce remains organized, employers are forbidden to hire permanent replacements for striking workers. Unions are also permitted to stage secondary boycotts, which are prohibited under U.S. law.

The American labor movement reached its peak in the '50s, when as many as 35 percent of non-agricultural workers belonged to unions. But beginning in the '60s, employers began resorting to illegal tactics—for instance, firing union or-

ganizers, or threatening to close down their plants if workers backed a union. From 1960 to 1980, National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) findings of unfair company labor practices increased by more than 400 percent.

During the '80s, employers continued to use illegal tactics, but Reagan's appointees to the NLRB either delayed judgments or found in management's favor. In Lincoln, Neb., for instance, Kawasaki Motors defeated a United Auto Workers organizing drive by threatening illegally to close its plant if workers voted to unionize. Administrative courts found in the union's favor, but the Reagan NLRB majority backed the company.

New labor leadership will not necessarily be able to defeat these types of management tactics. To win in factories and offices, labor needs a change of administration in Washington and reform of the country's labor laws.

—J.B.J.

The committees concentrated their efforts on Southern Democrats and moderate Northern Republicans. They had little success with their targeted Republicans—only 16 voted for labor's bill in the House—but they fared surprisingly well with Southern Democrats from right-to-work states. In Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee, where the committees were most active, 16 of 18 House Democrats backed the bill.

In districts where the committees failed to win over House members, they are now trying to show them the error of their ways. In southern Arkansas, for instance, a labor-backed coalition plans to run a primary candidate against Rep. Beryl Anthony, a Democrat who voted against the bill. Committee members, sporting buttons and bumper stickers saying "Let's permanently replace Beryl Anthony," are picketing the Congressman's public appearances.

The unions are also exerting national pressure on legislators. The Communications Workers of America, the Teamsters, and the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine and Furniture Workers (IUE) have already pledged publicly not to make any financial contributions to candidates in 1992 who oppose the bill.

But labor faces a far more difficult test winning support in the more conservative Senate. So far 31 Democrats have signed on as co-sponsors of Metzenbaum's bill, but labor needs 60 votes to prevent a filibuster. Among the Democrats, labor is planning to put particular pressure on David Boren (D-OK) and Ernest Hollings (D-SC) as well as Republicans Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), Arlen Specter (R-PA), William Cohen (R-ME), John Chafee (R-RI), and James Jeffords (R-VT).

If President Bush vetoes the measure, labor will have to get 67 Senate votes to override it. And evidence suggests that he would veto it. At a private White House meeting in June, the president urged business lobbyists to defeat the bill. And Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin has stated that she would recommend a Bush veto. But labor has a plan to prevent such a veto.

According to federation officials, the AFL-CIO is hoping that it can pursue the same strategy with the workplace fairness bill that it pursued three years ago in winning passage of a bill requiring employers to notify workers of plant closings. Congress failed to override a Reagan veto of this plant closing bill in 1987, but the next year, labor and Democrats successfully made the bill into a campaign issue, charging that Reagan's veto demonstrated heartlessness toward communities devastated by runaway shops. The strategy worked, and the second time around Reagan allowed the bill to pass.

The AFL-CIO wants Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell to delay a vote on the workplace fairness bill until next year, so that the federation and its allies can use the 1992 presidential campaign to mobilize opposition to a veto. To do this, labor will have to make the bill a "community" rather than simply a "labor" issue, and it will also have to convince the Democratic leadership that they can gain rather than lose support locally by backing the bill.

So far, the Democrats are balking. At a meeting July 26, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland was not able to persuade Mitchell to postpone the vote to next year. The Democrats want the issue out of the way before next year's election campaigns. They don't understand that if they can't protect unions from unscrupulous managers there won't be anyone around in four or eight years to help them get elected.

By Salim Muwakkil

PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH'S DECISION TO nominate Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court grows in wisdom as time goes by. By naming the 43-year-old black conservative, the Bush administration not only ensures the top court's rightward tilt, it also promotes the image of the Republican Party as an equal opportunity employer, thus enhancing the GOP's appeal to African-Americans.

What's more, the Thomas nomination manages to exploit a venerable divergence within the black community: the argument

CIVIL RIGHTS

between those who advocate a self-help strategy for black progress—Thomas' position—and those who promote governmental assistance as a necessary corrective to the disfiguring legacy of slavery—the "civil rights" position. The disagreements between these two strains stretch far back into U.S. history and lend a special resonance to the debate on Thomas' fitness for duty. By focusing public attention on this conflict, the Bush administration already has shaken the foundations of black leadership and amplified the voices of those who challenge the civil rights hierarchy.

While hearings by the Senate Judiciary Committee will focus on Thomas' beliefs in the context of right-left political ideology, many African-Americans will hear echoes of historic debates between black leaders like Alexander Crummell and Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey and A. Philip Randolph, Elijah Muhammad and Bayard Rustin, or Malcolm X Shabazz and Martin Luther King. And although the differences that separated these figures transcended the categories of conventional politics, their divergent views had distinct political implications.

Reviving the dialectic: The Bush administration is simply following the lead of white conservatives from eras past who exploited the self-help arguments of Crummell, Washington, Garvey, Muhammad and Shabazz to justify their own opposition to compensatory programs for African-Americans. Just as Louisiana gubernatorial candidate and former Klansman David Duke recently expressed his support for Thomas, racists of old also spoke well of the black self-help advocates of their day; it's a hoary tradition. But some time in the late '40s, the other side of the debate—the civil rights strain—gained political hegemony and effectively shut out the loyal opposition.

Thomas' nomination is resuscitating the dialectic at a time when the civil rights movement is at a strategic impasse. The ruling Republicans' opposition to compensatory strategies may be the primary reason for this impasse, but that is the current lay of the land and prospects for political change look dim. Black Americans historically are more attracted to self-reliance arguments during periods when the federal government displays less sympathy for their plight. Moreover, increased racial tensions in the nation and deteriorating conditions in too many black communities have added urgency to African-Americans' quest for alternative approaches.

Even groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League are seeking ways to embrace notions of racial

Thomas nomination resuscitates dialectic

solidarity and self-reliance without betraying their civil rights traditions. John Jacob, president and chief executive of the Urban League, spoke obliquely about the issue at the group's recently concluded annual convention. "I think that it would be naive for anyone to believe that new conditions don't bring new truths and that those new truths require us to constantly examine our positions," he said. In recent years, Jacob's group has moved slowly away from former strategies of legalism and governmental action and begun to emphasize black responsibility in devising solutions for problems such as teenage pregnancy, drug abuse and crime.

"Black unity" weapon: Similarly, the NAACP has started to modify its approach. But the institutional inertia of the venerable civil rights group has slowed its pace of change. Frustrated by that incremental movement, NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks last year helped form the National Association of Black Organizations (NABO), a group designed specifically to develop self-help programs for African-Americans. "Much of what needs to be done within the African-American community must be done by ourselves and for ourselves," Hooks said at the NABO's founding convention. "We have a moral responsibility to attack the problems in our community with the best weapon at our disposal: black unity."

Significantly, the NAACP and the Urban League initially decided to hold their fire on Thomas, although the positions of the Supreme Court nominee clearly are antithetical to their founding principles. When Thomas was named to the U.S. Court of Appeals less than two years ago, the NAACP protested that his tenure as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) demonstrated that he "lacks the commitment to equal justice, the qualifications and the judi-

Many will hear echoes of historic debates between black leaders like Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois.

cial temperament for a lifetime appointment on one of the nation's most important courts."

But after his nomination to the nation's most important court, Hooks said that Thomas is "not completely without some good points. When it comes to individual discrimination, his record is pretty clear. If a black or woman has been individually discriminated against or mistreated, he'll go to the ends of the Earth to correct it." Has Thomas or has the NAACP changed? The context has changed, and the black unity Hooks extolled as African-Americans' "best weapon" necessarily makes for strange ideological bedfellows.

And then there is the simple pride many blacks feel for one of their own who has ascended to such lofty heights from a poverty that many know too well. This sentiment was best captured by Johnson Publication's

widely read *Jet* magazine which featured Thomas' determined visage on its cover with the proud headline: "Rises From Poverty to Supreme Court Nominee."

Significant opposition: Columnist Carl Rowan upbraided the NAACP for "floundering in indecision" regarding Thomas' nomination. Civil rights groups "ought to stand firm and say that skin color is immaterial when you see a nominee to the highest court who will help reverse progress made toward racial justice over 60 years of lawsuits, marches, bleedings and dyings." Rowan, a longtime warrior from the civil rights side of the street, is mounting a rearguard action against the ascendancy of the self-reliance, black nationalist strain.

Rowan is not alone. The 26-member Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) voted 20-1 to oppose Thomas' nomination. The only vote against the action came from Connecticut Rep. Gary Franks, the CBC's lone Republican. Jesse Jackson, president of the National Rainbow Coalition and the Washington, D.C., "shadow senator," has spoken forcefully against Thomas. At a recent meeting at the Chicago headquarters of Operation PUSH, Jackson accused the Supreme Court nominee of "plucking from the civil rights tree he is trying to chop down."

In a wide-ranging attack on the black appellate court judge, Jackson said, "Thomas has made a living attacking our cause and gaining favor with the enemies of our struggle." Although Thomas speaks out against government employment, Jackson charged, "all he's ever had were government jobs; working for Bush, [Republican Missouri Sen. John] Danforth and [Ronald] Reagan. He is a prime beneficiary of our work. He got public accommodations, the right to vote, open housing because of civil rights marches and activism; yet he stood on our shoulders and kicked us in the head." Under pressure from ideological allies, the NAACP has since clarified its position and declared opposition to Thomas. But the initial indecision of the nation's oldest civil rights group is more telling than its later action.

Some nationalist support: "In some ways, the debate over Thomas is an unfortunate diversion," said Conrad Worrill, chairman of the National Black United Front, a black nationalist group that focuses on community control and economic solidarity. "Because what we're really arguing over is a historical dilemma concerning which black folks have access to powerful white folks. When white liberals had control, black civil righters had access, and now that white conservatives are in control, conservative blacks have access. It's a useless debate, in my opinion, although I'm not as much against Thomas as some folks are."

Revelations that Thomas once delivered a speech praising aspects of Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam have endeared him to some black nationalists, once again highlighting the affinities between nationalists and conservatives. The historic connections are undeniable. For instance, Marcus Garvey's radical black nationalism was partially inspired by Booker T. Washington's black bootstrap philosophy.

"In 1983, when Judge Thomas quoted the

economic policies of Minister Farrakhan, most of us supported that," explained Robert Woodson, president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, a conservative black group with close ties to Federal Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp. "And to this day we support self-reliance, we support the message. Some of us are certainly free to embrace certain policies and positions of someone without subscribing to their religious or philosophical views."

Atwater's smiling spirit: Thomas' nomination has prompted the formation of a new black group called the National Coalition for Self-Reliance and focused attention on a dynamic group of African-American conservatives. Already the publicity has provoked some high-profile support. Syndicated columnist and television talk-show host/producer Tony Brown, recently announced his support for Thomas along with his new identification as a Republican. Black radio talk shows in major cities such as Chicago and New York report a fairly high level of support for Thomas and growing affection for the GOP.

Even without supernatural intervention, it's almost possible to discern the smiling spirit of Lee Atwater, the late GOP chief and Bush strategist, hovering over Washington and assaying this Republican coup. It was Atwater, after all, who was the prime mover of a political strategy designed to attract black dissenters from the civil rights status quo. Atwater sensed that the time was ripe for significant defections from the black-liberal alliance, and he argued that the Republican Party would gain majority party status if it could position itself as the viable alternative. With an articulate, youthful black Republican like Thomas arguing its case during the confirmation hearings, the GOP will be doing just that. □

THE MUGGING OF BLACK AMERICA



AN EXPLOSIVE NEW BOOK

THE MUGGING OF BLACK AMERICA
by Earl Ofari Hutchinson

Is the War on Drugs a War on African-Americans?

Is the War on Crime a War on African-Americans?

Is there a Media Conspiracy against African-Americans?

Find out the answers and more in
THE MUGGING OF BLACK AMERICA
\$9.95 ppd

Order from Impact Publications,
Box 2368, Inglewood, Ca. 90305
(213) 677-6311

IN THESE TIMES AUG. 7-20, 1991 9

Peltier

Continued from page 7

fairly. To do so, we must recognize their unique culture and their great contributions to our nation. Favorable action by the president in the Leonard Peltier case would be an important step in this regard...."

When Peltier was informed of Judge Heaney's letter, he was, he told *In These Times*, "at first shocked. I never expected it. The judge must have had an enormous amount of pressure on him to affirm my conviction [in 1986], and I can only imagine it may be bothering his conscience."

Peltier said he has received an unconfirmed report that President Bush has referred his case to the U.S. Parole Board. (Without intervention by the government, Peltier, now 46, would not be eligible for parole until the year 2014.)

"I've felt from the beginning that I'm not

going to get relief through the courts," he said. "So if I was given a commutation of sentence, I would take it. But I'd still continue fighting to exonerate my name and the false charges against me."

Sen. Inouye's attempt to have Bush intervene is not the first time that Peltier's case has been raised at the White House. During the mid-'80s, when Ronald Reagan brought up the matter of political prisoners held in the USSR at a meeting with Mikhail Gorbachov, the Soviet president reportedly countered with questions about Peltier's incarceration. And in a remarkable display of concern for an American prisoner, 17 million petition signatures asking for Peltier's release have been gathered by Soviet citizen organizers in recent years.

Members of the Canadian Parliament have also recently shown strong interest in Peltier's case. After U.S. prosecutors admitted that affidavits used to force Peltier's extradi-

tion from Canada were fabricated, Parliament members have called upon their government "to seek the return of Mr. Peltier to Canada and the annulment of all extradition proceedings...."

Meanwhile, Peltier waits, spending much of his time in Leavenworth working on a series of paintings depicting the native American heritage. His paintings have been purchased by such celebrities as Oliver Stone, Jane Fonda, Peter Coyote, Val Kilmer and Maria Shriver. Proceeds go to his Defense Committee and are used to support both the committee's work and his family.

Despite the dark legal shadow that continues to loom over his case, Peltier remains hopeful and high-spirited. Dressed in khaki prison garb, he probed deep into the eyes of his interviewer and offered this final statement: "You know, I believe that the creator has created conditions for us for a reason. I don't know what it is; maybe I'll never know.

But one thing I will say is that during all my years of confinement, my case has never failed to keep Indian issues alive. If that's what it is, that's good. At least I have contributed something to my people and to our struggle."

Dick Russell is a frequent contributor to *In These Times*.

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED!

Conclusive proof Flavius Josephus created fictional Jesus, authored Gospels. AMAZING but ABSOLUTELY INCONTROVERTIBLE! Send \$5 to Abelard Reuchlin Foundation, Box 5652-L, Kent WA 98064. SASE for details.

Donnelly/Colt Custom Printing

Box 188-ITT, Hampton, Ct. 06247; (203) 455-9621. Fax: (203) 455-9597. Buttons, bumper stickers, posters, postcards. In stock items available. Union-made. Color 32-page catalog (recycled paper) \$1.

Work with

Street Children in Angola

12 month educational program includes volunteer work at school for street children in Luanda, preparation and follow-up periods in the U.S.

Other programs in Mozambique, Nicaragua and South Asia.

Institute for Int'l Cooperation & Development (IICD)
P.O. Box 103-T,
Williamstown, MA 01267.
(413) 458-9828.

Religion and the Life of the Intellect



In many intellectual circles the myth still circulates that religion is the preserve of the dim-witted and unlettered. Yet, recently *The New York Times Magazine* carried an article on the "return to religion" among intellectuals. From Harvard to Berkeley, and amid inquisitive people generally, there's an undeniable renewal of interest in the questions traditional religion raises and seeks to answer. This fascination is largely a result of the failures of secular substitutes for religion (such as rationalism, narcissism, technological utopianism, aestheticism, and extremist political ideologies) to give abidingly satisfying answers to the truly significant puzzles in life: goodness, suffering, love, death, and the meaning of it all.

By no means, however, does this religious renaissance entail embracing the ersatz gods of dog-eat-dog individualism, consumerism, or superpatriotism. Nor does it imply a retreat from working for peace, justice, or human dignity. Rather, there's an awareness that, as Jean Bethke Elshtain put it, religious commitment "can help further social reform," and that religion can supply the ethical bedrock upon which to make political choices which are far more durable than those based on passing ideologies and enthusiasms. Nor does the new openness to religion signify a hostility to science, but rather an appreciation of the limits of science and technology.

The New York Times Magazine article dis-

cussed the NEW OXFORD REVIEW as part of this return to religion, and rightly so. We at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW are spearheading today's intellectual engagement with what Daniel Bell terms "the sacred." We are particularly interested in exploring religious commitments that yield humane social consequences, as exemplified by such giants as St. Francis, Gandhi, Bonhoeffer, Barth, Tawney, Schumacher, Mounier, Dorothy Day, Archbishop Tutu, Simone Weil, Martin Luther King Jr., and Archbishop Romero. And we probe the literary and philosophical riches offered by such greats as Kierkegaard, Tolstoy, Buber, Auden, Eliot, Silone, Maritain, Waugh, Merton, C.S. Lewis, Walker Percy, Flannery O'Connor, and Graham Greene.

An ecumenical monthly edited by lay Catholics, we've been characterized by George Will as "splendid," by the University of Chicago's Martin E. Marty as "lively," by Berkeley's John T. Noonan Jr. as "indispensable," and by *Newsweek* as "thoughtful and often cheeky."

Those who write for us — Robert N. Bellah, J.M. Cameron, John Lukacs, Henri J.M. Nouwen, Robert Coles, Christopher Lasch, Eileen Egan, and others — express themselves with clarity, verve, style, and heart. We bat around a wide variety of issues and defy easy pigeonholing. If you're keen on intellectual ferment and the life of the mind and spirit, subscribe today!

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue)

SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS

- ☐ One-year subscription. . . . \$14 (regularly \$19)
- ☐ One-year student, unemployed, or retired person's subscription \$12 (regularly \$16)
- ☐ Two-year subscription \$23 (regularly \$35)

- ☐ One-year Canadian or foreign subscription US\$17 (regularly \$22) Payment must be drawn in US Dollars
- ☐ Sample copy. . . . \$3.50

Send coupon or letter. Make check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Mail to:

NEW OXFORD REVIEW
Room 541
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley, CA 94706

PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER

NAME (Please print or type)

STREET ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP CODE

SUBSCRIBER SERVICE S

If applicable affix your mailing label here.

I AM:

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ MOVING.

NEW ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

If possible affix your mailing label to facilitate the change. If no label is available be sure to include both the new and OLD zip codes with the complete addresses. Please allow 4 - 6 weeks for the address change.

☐ **SUBSCRIBING.** Fill out your name and address above and we will have IN THESE TIMES with news and analysis you can't find anywhere else in your mailbox within 4 - 6 weeks. Check price and term below. **ASTNO**

☐ **RENEWING.** Do it now and keep IN THESE TIMES coming without interruption. Affix your mailing label above and we will renew your account to automatically extend when your current subscription expires. Check price and term below. **ARSTO**

☐ **SHOPPING.** Give an IN THESE TIMES gift subscription. It makes a perfect gift for friends, relatives, students or associates. Fill out your name and address above and name and address of recipient below. A handsome gift card will be sent. **XSTHO**

NAME OF RECIPIENT

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

PRICE / TERM

- ☐ One year: \$34.95
- ☐ Six months: \$18.95
- ☐ Student retired, One year: \$24.95
- ☐ Institutional, One year: \$59.00
- ☐ Payment enclosed
- ☐ Bill me later
- ☐ Charge my VISA MC

ACCT. NO.

EXP. DATE
Above prices for U.S. residents only. Foreign orders add \$41.00 per year. Canadian orders add \$27.00 per year.

In These Times Customer Service
1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054

By Larry Cohler

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATORS ARE PROBING a highly detailed—but so far unverified—account that, when he was vice president, George Bush made a number of secret trips to Damascus during the '80s to negotiate the release of the American hostages in Lebanon.

Sources familiar with the probe say congressional investigators have spoken with a number of well-placed individuals, including a former Pentagon official, concerning efforts by the Syrian government to cut a deal

HOSTAGES

with the administration on the hostage issue.

Most of these individuals were unwilling to speak on the record. But several have spoken of an account they have received and consider credible that Bush had a role in these efforts.

Beating around the Bush: According to the account, which was first published by *Washington Jewish Week*, Bush attempted to negotiate an arrangement with Syrian officials on the hostages in Lebanon, where Syria has maintained influence since the early '80s. Under the alleged arrangement, the Syrians were to facilitate the release of the hostages in exchange for arms and technologies.

But, according to some sources, the plan fell through because Bush sought to delay the deal.

None of this has been confirmed, and the account's credibility rests entirely on the shoulders of one source. But congressional investigators and others who have spoken with the source say they believe this individual was well-placed to know about the events the account describes and spoke on the condition that this person not be identified.

According to the account, Bush made as many as four clandestine trips to Damascus, starting in early 1986.

During these visits, the Syrians sought to improve relations with the U.S. by offering to coordinate the Lebanon hostage release. For his part, Bush allegedly offered the possibility of arms and other considerations. But Bush, according to this account, was also concerned about the timing and showed a desire to put off the actual transaction.

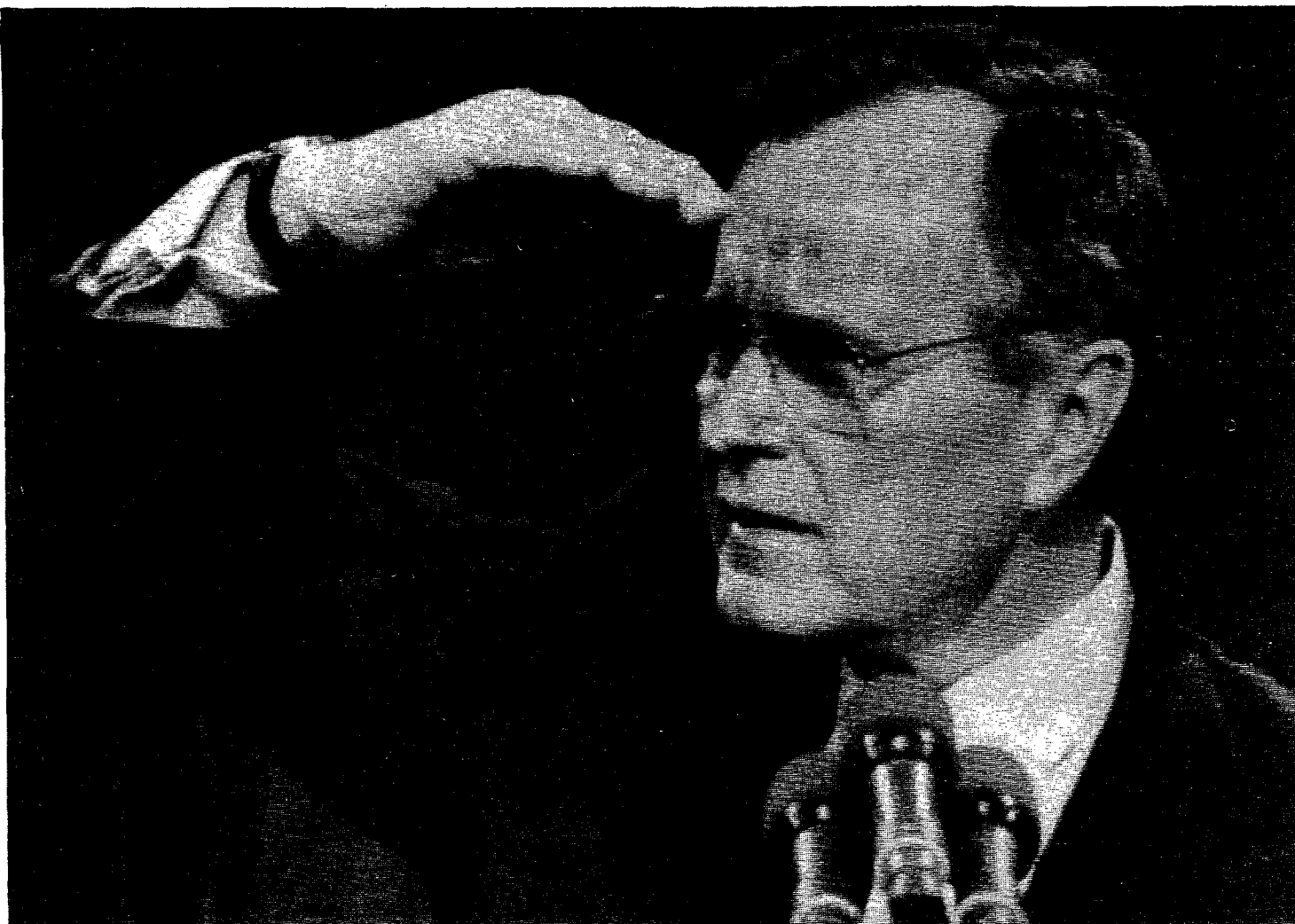
Congressional investigators have been told by the source that in the spring of 1988, in the midst of the presidential campaign, Bush made one last trip to Damascus. He told the Syrians the time was right, but, in a reversal of roles, the Syrians demurred.

Apparently stunned by the implications of the Iran-contra scandal, the Syrians were said to have grasped the amount of leverage they had over Bush with their knowledge of his clandestine activities.

The White House has denounced the allegations as a "complete fabrication." But congressional investigators are reportedly intrigued by strong indications that several potential opportunities to free the hostages in the mid-'80s with Syrian help were put on hold for reasons that remain unclear.

There are currently 13 Western hostages in Lebanon, six of whom are American.

The congressional staffers involved, who asked not to be identified, are not connected to the informal Capitol Hill investigation currently exploring allegations that senior officials in the 1980 Reagan-Bush presidential campaign promised arms to Iranian officials in exchange for delaying the release of the



Was a bird in the hand not worth it to Bush?

American hostages until after the election.

But the reports of Bush's involvement in a deal in Lebanon, if they prove to have any substance, would be sure to trigger a similar controversy.

No stones unturned: The information the investigators have uncovered so far gives credence to the notion that Syria, like Iran, actively sought a bargaining role in the complicated jockeying for advantage during the six-year-old hostage tragedy. And despite the administration's vow to "leave no stone unturned" in its efforts to free the hostages, the investigators' probe indicates instances of studied inaction at both the political and intelligence levels in pursuing Syrian overtures about the possibility of freeing the hostages in the mid-'80s.

In particular, Robert D. Ladd, a former executive secretary for Richard Nixon when he was vice president, and Ladd's attorney, Irving Jaffe, say that Syrian offers made through them to secure the release of the hostages were rebuffed by the administration.

According to a confidential Pentagon memo obtained for this story, Ladd, president of Haverhill International, a Washington-area firm that had done business in Lebanon, and Jaffe, held a meeting on March 16, 1987, with a senior Pentagon official and two of his aides to complain about the strong resistance they had encountered from U.S. officials in response to Syrian overtures made through them.

The memo, written one day after the meeting, says Ladd told the Pentagon officials that Syrian officials had contacted him about facilitating the release of the hostages.

According to this memo, as well as to participants in the meeting, Ladd told the U.S. officials that in the summer of 1985, Fasih

Mikhail Achi, a judge in Syria's inspector general's office, approached him with information about the hostages and a proposition that was understood to come from Syrian officials above him. Syria was ready to assist in the release of the hostages, Achi said, if then-President Ronald Reagan would call up Syrian President Hafez El Assad and request his support.

After such a call, Ladd was told, President Assad would facilitate the release of the hostages "without any quid pro quo," according to the memo. At the time of the overture, U.S.-Syrian relations were frosty.

According to the memo, Ladd said this overture "was brought to the attention of Lt. Col. Oliver North" of the National Security Council, and "Ladd was told someone would follow up." But he "was unaware of any positive response to the Syrian offer."

Bush reportedly attempted to negotiate an arrangement with Syrian officials on the hostages in Lebanon, where Syria has maintained influence since the early '80s. But, according to some sources, the plan fell through because Bush allegedly sought to delay the deal.

At the time, North was involved in developing the arms-for-hostages deal with Iran that became known as the Iran-contra scandal.

In an interview with the *San Francisco Examiner*, Ladd said that after hearing Achi's offer in 1985, he arranged for the Syrian judge to be questioned in Washington by representatives of the Inter-Agency Group on Terrorism. He said the representatives included two operatives, one from the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) and one from the CIA.

The CIA operative questioned Achi in three separate interviews over two days in July, Ladd said. Ladd, who was present during these interviews, said that Achi told the CIA agent he spoke for Gen. Ghazi Kenaan, the head of Syrian military intelligence in Lebanon.

A former Pentagon official told the *Examiner* that a subsequent check of Achi by the CIA and DIA verified his identity as an aide to Kenaan. But despite this, no action was taken.

In March 1987, Ladd told Pentagon officials that Achi had renewed his offer, adding that he was willing to meet with responsible U.S. officials in the U.S. or in Paris. But, said Ladd, he was unable to elicit any response from the U.S.

Attempts to reach Lawrence Ropka Jr., the senior Pentagon official with whom Ladd and Jaffe met, were unsuccessful. At the time, Ropka was the principal deputy of Richard Armitage, then-assistant secretary of Defense for international security affairs.

Peter Probst, a ranking Pentagon official who took part in the meeting, said it was one of several he and other officials had with Ladd and Jaffe on the Syrian overture. But he declined to comment on the substance of the discussions.

Attempts to reach Ladd were unsuccessful. His wife, Carol Ladd, said he was away on the road, but added, "There were a couple of Syrian military people who thought they would have no trouble" gaining the release of the hostages. They knew where the prison-

Continued on page 22

IN THESE TIMES AUG. 7-20, 1991 11

By David R. Dye

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

HAD HE LOOKED OUT OVER THE ATLANTIC last month, Mikhail Gorbachov might have had reason to envy his erstwhile ally, former Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. While the Soviet leader was busily telling his colleagues to scrap Marxism and preparing to steer his party's ship into the straits of social democracy—watching nervously to see whether the hull was disintegrating—the undisputed head of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) had just come off a resounding personal victory in the long-awaited First Congress of the FSLN. Unlike Gorbachov, Ortega held his forces together (there is no Sandinista Shevardnadze, much less a Yeltsin), and they had ratified his leadership and political line.

In the three-day conclave July 19-21, timed to coincide with the 12th anniversary of their 1979 revolution, the Sandinistas tried to convince themselves, other Nicaraguans and the rest of the world that their too vertical vanguard party, which ruled Nicaragua until losing elections in 1990, could successfully democratize without falling prey to paralyzing conflict and schism. At the same time, they wanted to demonstrate that the FSLN was not about to go the way of Eastern Europe's tired, defeated and shattered communist parties, but could regain its balance and prepare to bid for power again—not through force of arms but by the rules of liberal democracy.

How well the Sandinistas succeeded in these quests is difficult to gauge and will be for some time to come. But if first impressions are accurate, the congress brought a festive reformulation of some ideological principles, a display of non-monolithic unity (with sizable contradictions contained), and significant though not giant steps toward internal party democracy while avoiding a divisive debate on strategy that might have marred Ortega's image and success. Under current circumstances, these achievements should not be sneered at.

But at this crucial juncture in their 30-year history, the Sandinistas want to reaffirm the validity of still another thesis that, in light of Eastern Europe's experience, will seem startling: something that deserves to be called a revolution still exists in Nicaragua and can continue to exist indefinitely. With the power that remains in their hands (manifest in the Sandinista Army), a party with sizable mass affiliates and the support of the 41 percent who voted for them in the last election, the Sandinistas hope to blunt the thrust of world neoliberalism in a tiny corner of Latin America and force it to compromise. The resultant system, they would like to believe, can preserve the chief legacies of their 11-year revolutionary rule—more equitable distribution of property in Nicaraguan society, the freedom for union organization, government help for the small peasant and artisan, rights for women and much more—even as Nicaragua's economy is restructured to become competitive in the world economy of the '90s.



Snapshot of Sandinismo

This tall order of business—which the FSLN has come to call the “national project”—was what the first Sandinista Congress was supposed to facilitate by unifying the Sandinista ranks around an elected, legitimized leadership. A snapshot of Sandinismo in July 1991 reveals a party making progress in this immensely difficult quest, though one that still has a long way to go.

Unity and democracy in counterpoint: The Sandinistas' post-congress mood was one of self-congratulation over having defied right-wing prophesies that they would either split or shut themselves in as a permanent minority sect. “For me, the most positive thing is that even though the right threw a demolition grenade so as to divide us, the *Frente* came out strengthened, and the proof was the rally on July 19,” said Deputy Rogelio Ramirez. This year's anniversary celebration, which saw 50,000 people jam the Plaza of the Revolution in the old center of Managua, was the largest and most enthusiastic outpouring of support for the FSLN since its election loss in February 1990.

Still, the threat from the right is palpable. Led by ex-contra leader Alfredo Cesar, hardline anti-Sandinista forces are currently trying to turn the first of several clocks in Nicaragua back, sponsoring property legislation that would undo much of the Sandinistas' reform legacy and make it possible for numerous Somocistas to recover holdings and a position in society many thought lost

forever. If this aspiration isn't galling enough to Sandinistas, it's only a prelude to a more dangerous confrontation that would wrest control of the Sandinista army from the FSLN, upsetting an agreement signed after last year's elections that has allowed the defeated revolutionaries to live in uneasy peace with the government of President Violeta Chamorro.

The prospect of all this prompted the seven remaining members of the Sandinista National Directorate, led by Ortega, to strum the siren song of “unity in the face of danger” and get themselves ratified (along with two additions) in the party's first-ever national leadership election July 21. Severely questioned in the wake of the party's electoral defeat—for political errors, personal failings and the defeat itself—the historic *comandantes* of the Sandinista Revolution were forced to open up a vigorous internal debate-and-election process that had spanned four months by the time the national congress started. Like most defeated leaders, however, they had no intention of allowing themselves to be displaced from power without a fight.


The conflict over the composition of the National Directorate erupted in a preparatory regional congress for Managua in June. There reformers mustered nearly 40 percent of the delegates to challenge a proposal from the directorate that voting for the leadership be done via closed exclusive slates (called

planchas in Nicaraguan slang). The directorate's ploy precluded many people from doing what they wanted, which was to keep two or three of the old leaders and throw the rest out.

What kinds of Sandinistas are found on the two sides of the aisle? The camp of the reformers in the FSLN clusters mainly in Managua and centers on the intellectuals, women and youth along with some party regulars. Against this sizable grouping, the directorate orchestrated a much larger and more powerful coalition of union forces, upper party cadre and delegates from the provinces to support the status-quo-under-threat. Decisive in voting for the familiar and the reassuring were the less sophisticated militants from outlying areas, little attuned to the intricacies of the reform debate in the capital and preoccupied instead with the danger posed by rearmed bands of ex-contras in Nicaragua's still not wholly pacified countryside.

In addition to the anti-*plancha* sentiment, the leadership turned back two other challenges. One was a move to elevate to the National Directorate its first woman member ever—the highly respected Dora Maria Tellez, a revolutionary veteran who led the heralded Sandinista attack on Somoza's National Palace in 1978 and who spearheaded the forces of party reform and renewal. The other was a series of congress motions strengthening party strictures against cor-

Mel Rosenthal



ruption, important in the face of a right-wing campaign castigating the Sandinistas for their alleged "*piñata*," referring to a post-electoral appropriation of government housing and farm properties by ranking Sandinistas before the party left office in April 1990.

With the reformers losing on these fronts, one wonders if unity in the Sandinista ranks is more apparent than real. Alfonso Corea, a longtime militant and community leader in Managua's Monsenor Lezcano neighborhood, summed up the sentiment of those who saw their zeal to replace the directorate's most discredited figures frustrated, stating flatly, "I have my ideology—I am a Sandinista—but I'm not going to participate any more." Others who think like Corea may also drop out, a cost some Sandinista leaders seem intent on ignoring.

But the reformers have not bolted entirely. Perhaps more than the absence of anyone of stature to lead them, this outcome reflects a sense that despite limitations in leadership renewal, the FSLN has made significant strides in the direction of greater inner-party democracy, making it feasible to stay and fight another day.

The main changes in the party, however, are institutional. Not surprising, given its vanguard-guerrilla past, the FSLN confirmed its self-image as a body organized around militants who must make a more extensive life commitment to the party than ordinary members. The party also endorsed "democratic centralism"—ever the classic Communist Party mechanism for enforcing discipline and a seeming anarchism in the post-communist era. But in an extended, late-night debate, congress delegates watered down this idea by removing a key corollary, the prohibition on discussing internal party dissidence with outsiders.

A further and more powerful sign that democracy in the FSLN is irreversible was the decision to convert the Sandinista Assembly, formerly a consultative body of second-echelon leaders, into the party's chief policy-making organ, sovereign over the directorate. "The assembly is now a species of parliament within the party," commented one of its members privately. "And though we will not watch over the directorate like policemen, don't think that we aren't going to exercise the deliberative function accorded us."

The struggle for the popular majority: Though it was not their principal focus, the Sandinista congress-goers were forced to reassess basic points of principle and program, taking into account two blunt realities—they are in opposition now and must operate in a vastly changed Central American and world environment, one adverse to their regaining power. The FSLN's traditional anti-imperialism emerged subdued, acknowledging that some accommodation with the U.S.—still implacably hostile to Sandinismo—must be found before the 1996 elections.

Swimming against the world tide, the Sandinistas nevertheless affirmed their stand in favor of some kind of "socialism." This is not the statist variety that they partially copied during their years in power, which all now recognize as untenable. Rather, it is a com-

bination of two things: resolute defense of the interests of the "popular majorities"—the 80 percent of Nicaraguans who, according to recent UNICEF statistics, live in poverty—and a staunch struggle to preserve the panoply of people's rights established by the revolution against the attack of '90 neoliberalism. If this is not a program to overthrow capitalism, neither is it a struggle that fits comfortably within the framework of social-democracy rejected by most Sandinistas as a betrayal of their continuing revolutionary aspiration.

What kind of party is needed to wage these struggles? While the reformed vanguard party that emerged from the congress seems an anachronism viewed from Eastern Europe, it is not the case in Nicaragua. "It will be necessary to maintain the mystique, the spirit, the active militancy of a party that calls itself a vanguard until such time as a national project takes root in Nicaragua and is institutionalized," said directorate member Lois Carrion.

The following review of five sectors of Nicaraguan society outlines what has and has not been defended to date, and offers some signposts of present and future priorities of the Sandinista struggle for the "national project."

Labor: Sandinista unions grouped into the National Workers Front (FNT) remain the dominant force on Nicaragua's labor scene. By waging an at times violent battle against the UNO government, the FNT's leaders—many discredited after long years of enforcing revolutionary austerity on the workers—have recouped prestige and limited the inroads of pro-government unions, forcing them into more aggressive stances in favor of workers' rights.

FNT board member Felix Contreras admitted that despite bitter strikes last year, the Sandinista unions have been unable to prevent the government from imposing anti-worker stabilization policies demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF)—"to have done that would have led to a permanent state of confrontation which the country could not afford," he said. Contreras also acknowledged that all unions have been weakened in Nicaragua by swelling unemployment. But on the positive side, Sandinista unions have been able to bargain successfully with the moderates in the UNO government to control significant shares of state enterprises slated for privatization, providing a base from which to preserve and extend their organizational network.

Small farmers: The National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), whose core is made up of some 3,000 peasant cooperatives, has been the Sandinista organization hardest hit by IMF-neoliberal policies of financial austerity. Deprived of credit and price supports, many UNAG members have seen their families succumb to hunger, malnutrition and the abject poverty that now prevails in the Nicaraguan countryside. Preventing themselves from sliding further—and losing lands gained in the agrarian reform of the last decade to voracious landlords returning from the past—requires organizing enough power to force the govern-

ment and its U.S. backers to consider the interests of small farmers, not just those of wealthy landowners.

Both UNAG and the FSLN now believe that the key to generating that power is alliance with the former enemy—the peasant soldiers of the Nicaraguan resistance, or *contras*. What makes unity possible, cooperative leader Ariel Bucardo asserted, is a dawning recognition by less politicized *contras* that "they are screwed just like us, and are in danger of becoming hostage to the government's economic policies just like we are." A patient process of reconciliation is underway in the countryside to get former *contras* to join with the Sandinistas in keeping Somo-cista landowners at bay.

Barrio dwellers: The Sandinista vehicle for community organization is known as the Nicaraguan Communal Movement (MCN), heir to the Sandinista Defense Committees of the revolutionary years. All but moribund in the late '80s, communal organizing activity has surged in recent months in response to maneuvers by old-time slumlords to retake real estate and housing confiscated by the Sandinistas. Last May, after occupying mayors' offices in Managua and other cities, the movement forced the UNO government to agree to cede house and building-lot titles to tens of thousands of the urban poor.

Movement Vice-Coordinator Enrique Picado wants to build on that effort to renew the sizable community movement of the early '80s (shorn of its pro-Sandinista sectarianism). And though he must contend with efforts by Managua's right-wing mayor to build a rival network, Picado insisted that "with our numbers, energy and organization, we have shown people that we are the community movement that really defends their community interests."

Women: As a party, the FSLN lost its leadership over women in the '80s by failing to respond adequately to the emergence of gender issues. But the myriad, fragmented women's groups in Nicaragua are almost all offshoots of an original Sandinista stem. The most dynamic among them are probably the women's sections in Sandinista unions and professional organizations, whose chief concerns today—with massive unemployment among female workers, cutbacks in social services and the threat to people's housing posed by the right—all derive directly from the UNO government's policies. Despite the severe deterioration in the conditions of life for Nicaraguan women, Dora Herrera of the Farm Workers Association insists that "levels of political activism have not declined since last year's elections, though activity has had to be adapted to the new circumstances." While recognizing that elections in the FSLN have meant fewer women in leadership posts, she and others argue that participation of women from the base has brought a new maturity to Sandinista discussions of women's issues.

Youth: The 23,000-strong July 19 Sandinista Youth organization (JS-19) was the loudest congress voice challenging the bloc election of old National Directorate. In frank rebellion against party leadership, the youth have refused to go on playing their traditional role

as a reserve of shock troops available for whatever purpose the Directorate chooses. Rather, they insisted on—and won—the right to run their own show. Recent elections in the universities and public high schools, won by the "JS-19" with more than 60 percent of the votes, confirm that Sandinista influence over Nicaraguan youth is still powerful, even growing. The party youth are in the forefront of the fight against government policies to limit access to the university and privatize the nation's secondary schools—both parts of the neoliberal program here. **Shaping the struggle:** Clearly, the Sandinista popular groups have won some battles and lost others. But across the board, they are still the dominant organized forces in all corners of Nicaraguan society.

Shaping all these groups into an effective political force requires strategy. Whatever the proper strategy is for a revolution facing three phalanxes of enemies—a vengeance-seeking right, out for the Sandinistas blood; governmental moderates who seek to undermine Sandinista power slowly and subtly; and the U.S., which in its usual devious way is behind both of the former—was not addressed at the First Congress. One of the first tasks of the Sandinista Assembly will be to take up this thorny theme.

Nearly everyone in the FSLN recognizes the need for tactical arrangements—for some, "alliances" is too strong a word—with the so-called pragmatists in the UNO government grouped around Minister of the Presidency Antonio Lacayo. But strong differences crop up on a crucial operative question: what balance should be struck between accommodation with Lacayo and his mother-in-law, Violeta Chamorro, the figurehead president, to stave off the right, and pressure, protest and struggle against the moderates to force concessions to Sandinista interests?

A theme running silently through the congress, the strategy question surfaced dramatically at the end when Sandinista Army leader Gen. Humberto Ortega arrived to address the closing session, pleading with the delegates for moderation and understanding of the UNO government's efforts to pacify the Nicaraguan countryside. (Just days afterward, so-called "*recontras*" attacked the small northern town of Quilali, killing two policemen.) His brother Daniel, however, had the last word, laying down the line for all to hear when he exclaimed, "We cannot accept a national project that seeks stability at the cost of impoverishing the great majority of Nicaraguans and enriching a small minority."

This combative stance is one of the reasons Daniel Ortega is still chief of the great Sandinista tribe. But if the Sandinistas' basic assertiveness stands, other things are different now. In the new Sandinista Front, Ortega is still the chief not because the militants agree with him, but because he agrees with them. The question now is how much of the rest of Nicaraguan society can be persuaded that the future the Sandinistas seek is really in their best interest. □

David R. Dye is *In These Times'* correspondent in Nicaragua.

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

Editor: James Weinstein
 Managing Editor: Sheryl Larson
 Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil
 Assistant Managing Editors: Glenora Croucher, Kira Jones
 Culture Editor: Jeff Reid
 European Editor: Diana Johnstone
 New York Editor: Daniel Lazare
 In Person Editor: Joel Bleifuss
 In Short Editor: Glenora Croucher
 Etc. Editor: Kira Jones
 Contributing Editor: Peter Karman
 Washington Correspondents: John Canham-Clyne, John B. Judis
 Eastern Europe Correspondent: Paul Hockenros
 Copy Editor: Mary Nick-Bisgaard
 Editorial Promotions: Gregory L. Walker
 Researchers: Deirdre Shesgreen, Jim McNeill

Art Director: Miles DeCoster
 Associate Art Director: Peter Hannan
 Assistant Art Director: Lisa Weinstein
 Production Assistant/Editorial Cartoonist: Terry LaBan
 Typesetter: Jim Rinnert

Publisher: James Weinstein
 Associate Publisher: Beth Schulman
 Co-Business Managers: Louis Hirsch, Finance, Kevin O'Donnell, Data Processing Accounting
 Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey
 Classified Advertising: Greg Kilbane
 Office Manager: Theresa Nutall
 Circulation Director: Janet Geovanis
 Fulfillment Manager: Greg Kilbane
 Concert Typographers: Sheryl Hybert

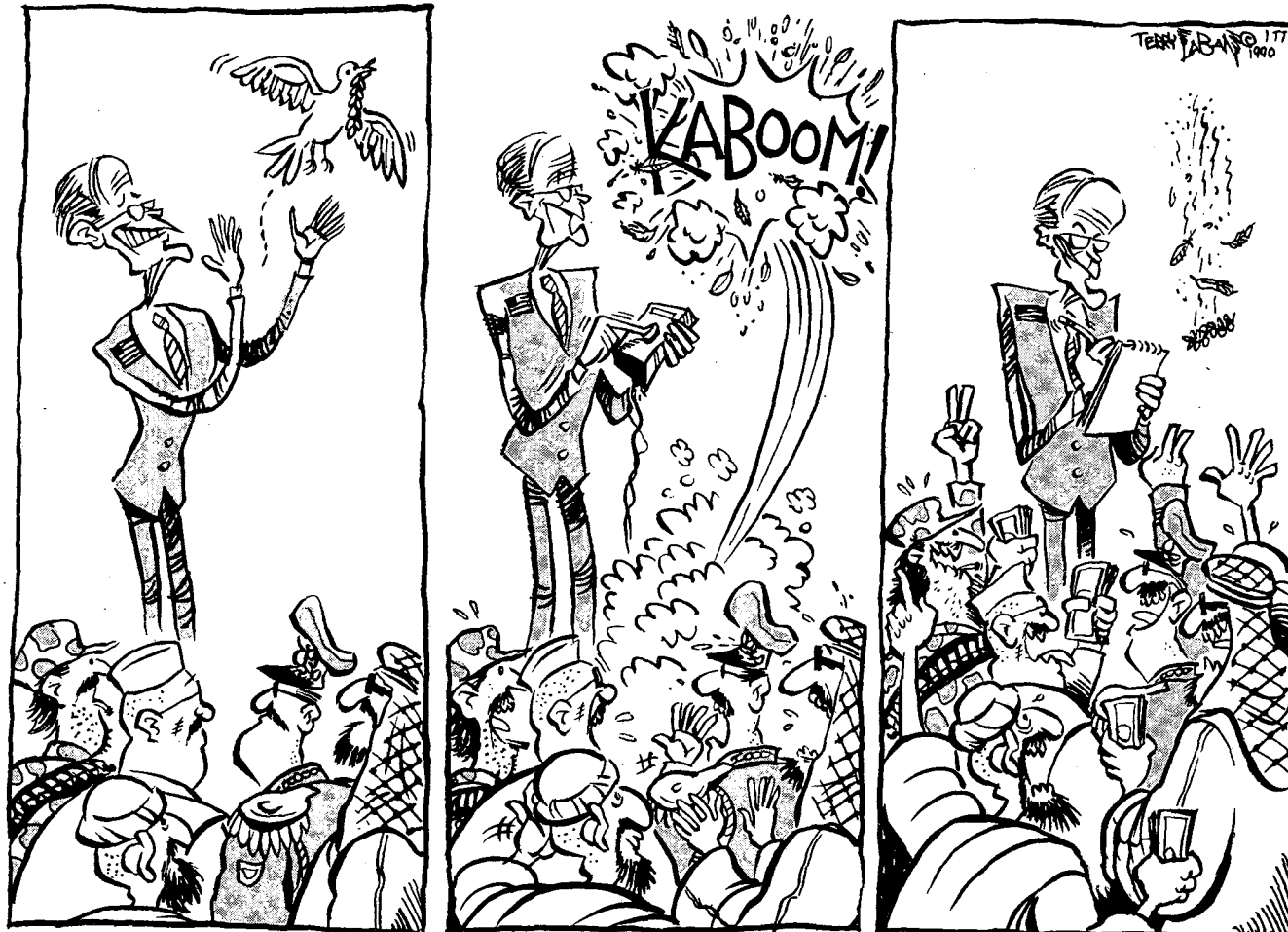
In These Times believes that to guarantee our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions. We believe in a socialism that fulfills rather than subverts the promise of American democracy, where social needs and rationality, not corporate profit and greed, are the operative principles. Our pages are open to a wide range of views, socialist and nonsocialist, liberal and conservative. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100.

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1991 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in both the Alternative Press Index and the Left Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$61.95 Canada; \$75.95 overseas). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$4; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs. Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 15, No. 30) published Aug. 7, 1991, for newsstand sales Aug. 7-20, 1991.



NEW WORLD ORDERS

A glimpse of sanity in an insane world

In mid-July a series of arms-control negotiations ambiguously addressed a changed global reality. With the Cold War put to rest and the Soviet military threat officially over, two treaties, one limiting armaments in Europe and the other providing for cuts in the number of long-range U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles, neared completion. While in Paris the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (the U.S., Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China) met to discuss limiting the flow of destabilizing weapons to the Mideast.

These were encouraging developments. Some day they may even be looked upon as the symbolic beginning of a saner world order. Yet behind the peaceful posturing of our political leaders the old priorities prevail. Armaments remain a world-wide growth industry. Democrats as well as Republicans still act as if destructive power were the measure of national defense and national security. And military spending at home and arms sales abroad still occupy centerstage in congressional budget-making and administration foreign policy.

The strategic arms reduction treaty (START), signed by President Bush and President Mikhail Gorbachov in Moscow last week, is the first nuclear arms agreement to reduce the number of weapons in American and Soviet arsenals. The treaty calls for cuts in the number of long-range missiles and bombers by about one-third—which will bring the number of such weapons in the superpowers' hands back to the level that existed in 1982, when START negotiations began.

But according to the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the treaty will leave some 40,000 American and Soviet nuclear warheads intact and ready for use. Furthermore, the Bush administration opposes negotiations to limit or reduce naval weapons, and the president, who recently asked Congress for \$5.2 billion for his version of Star Wars, is threatening to veto the arms spending bill if it does not include something close to that amount.

For its part, the Senate Armed Services Committee has approved \$4.6 billion for Star Wars, and committee chairman Sam Nunn (D-GA) has pushed through a plan to deploy 100 antiballistic missiles at a site in North Dakota. This is the maximum allowed under the 1972 ABM treaty, but Nunn sees it as just the beginning of a program that, while moving away from Star Wars, would proliferate ABMs, allegedly to protect the United States against limited missile attacks from Third World nations. Nunn's plan would require that the ABM treaty be revised or scrapped. Not only would this open the door to

a renewal of the nuclear arms race, but it would do so without providing protection against imaginary threats from "international terrorists," who—if they exist—could deliver nuclear weapons by planes or other means that ABMs can't intercept.

Overall, as Senate Budget Committee chairman Jim Sasser (D-TN) has pointed out, the current military budget includes plans for spending \$85 billion over the next three years on Star Wars, the B-2 bomber and a few other weapons systems, all of which are unnecessary for the defense of our nation. Indeed, the cumulative impact of squandering our human and financial resources on such programs can only further reduce the federal government's ability to invest in the welfare of the American people. Far from increasing our security, the consequences of locking such programs into place now will make it nearly impossible to meet the nation's pressing social needs over the next several years.

Now that the Soviet threat is officially gone, the major rationale for such continued military spending is the growth of military power in the Third World. Yet arms sales to Third World nations, and especially to those in the Mideast, are the main cause of this alleged threat. And the United States is the main engine of such sales and is the one nation capable of using its influence to put an end to such proliferation of arms.

The annual trade in armaments between the five powers that met in Paris last week and Third World arms purchasers is some \$22 billion. In the Mideast alone, in the year since Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, the U.S. has agreed to weapons sales of \$13 billion. These sales are, of course, enormously profitable to the major corporations that produce modern armaments. And, the Pentagon argues, they are necessary for the long-term survival of "important domestic arms programs" because the volume needed by American armed forces are not alone sufficient to make production feasible.

So the circle is closed. American armaments are needed to protect us against Third World terrorists. Yet we must sell arms to the Third World in order to make production for our own use affordable. This proliferation, in turn, requires the development of more expensive and sophisticated arms for our own use.

This orgy of military spending—and the conflict that almost inevitably follows—is out of control. There is only one nation capable of stopping it and of restoring sanity to the way in which the world's resources are used. But neither the present administration nor the Democratic leadership in Congress have demonstrated any intention of using their power to reverse the priority given to death and destruction. Clearly, people of good will throughout the world want this process to be reversed—that's why the new treaties have been signed and why the meeting in Paris took place. In the election of 1992, the establishment of a new set of social priorities should be the central campaign theme. If they choose this route, the Democrats could re-establish themselves as a second party.

LETTERS

Black and white

GREGORY STEVENS (ITT, JUNE 26) MISSES THE AM-bivalence and self-hatred in Spike Lee's hostility toward interracial relationships. Note that there is no obvious racial difference between the mulatto wife (Lonette McKee) and the "pure" white mistress (Annabella Sciorra) in *Jungle Fever*; both have the same dark Caucasian looks.

Why then is the black male protagonist (Wesley Snipes) condemned for seeking official miscegenation even as he is praised for marrying its product? Lee calls "pure" white women "dogs" but uses mulatto women as sex symbols in his films (*School Daze*, *Mo' Better Blues*, *Do the Right Thing* and *Jungle Fever*). Add to this Lee's attempts to point out the partial black ancestry of "pure" Italian whites (*Do the Right Thing*, *Jungle Fever* and interviews) and you have a portrait of a man who is obviously attracted to miscegenation even as he condemns it.

Why Lee uses the character of Rev. Dr. Purify to denounce sexual relations between white men and slave women in the Old South, it is unclear whether he is protesting or boasting. If Purify truly finds miscegenation repugnant, why does he accept the "whiteness" of his daughter-in-law? Also, the ludicrous attempt to blame a working-class Italian-American woman for the alleged sins of Southern planter elites shows an inability to adapt to changing racial realities. However, the greatest contradiction in *Jungle Fever* is that the guilt-ridden black protagonist already has an "interracial marriage."

If Lee wants to condemn the "pure" white woman as "trash" for mating with a black, then his mulatto sex symbol (the true "white goddess" of *Jungle Fever*) is also "trash." If we accept Lee's logic (or lack of it), both women were wrong to have mated with an "inferior" male. The "white trash" myth of miscegenation so dear to Lee's heart cannot be divorced from an assumption of black inferiority.

If we want to learn about racial intermixture, it may be best to look to Latino artists rather than African-American ones. Since the Latino population is characterized by various degrees of African, Indian and European ancestry, with "mixed" phenotypes being the norm rather than the exception, their views on race are probably more realistic.

Consider *Hangin' with the Homeboys*, by Joe Vasquez. It would be great if someone would film *Down These Mean Streets* by Piri Thomas (if its brutal honesty regarding mulatto rejection of blacks is not censored). Miscegenation is "normal" in Latino culture, not in Afro-American culture (despite ridiculous claims by some blacks to be a "rainbow" race or the anti-white self-hatred of a few highly visible mulattoes such as Lonette McKee or August Wilson). "Blacks" and "whites" are defined almost totally by color and phenotype unless someone takes great pains to reject a biological identity. Indeed, a better picture of miscegenation can be obtained from books about Aryan and Jewish "races" in Nazi-occupied Europe than you could ever get from the confused, race-baiting Spike Lees of this country.

Finally, Stevens is right when he says that Spike Lee's agenda includes a total rejection of permeable racial boundaries. Unfortunately, he is not the only one. The in-



creased importance of mutually exclusive racial classifications in determining who gets a job or a place in school (affirmative action) or even who is guilty of a crime ("hate crime" laws and "hate speech" regulations) encourages government to get into the business of forced classification.

This is an ominous trend, but try explaining that to the "progressive" fools who cannot see the racism they are promoting in the name of anti-racism.

A.D. Powell
Madison, Wis.

Loosely speaking

A UNIVERSITY'S ROLE IN FREE SPEECH IS NOT THAT much different from a newspaper's (ITT, June 26). I cannot remember *In These Times* ever publishing Tom Metzger in the interest of "free speech." (Although I suppose that could be the reason you publish John Judis.) A newspaper reserves the right to govern its content. If *In These Times* wants a progressive left-leaning audience, it does not publish right-wing articles. (Again, Judis could prove me wrong.)

So why should a university wanting to attract anti-racist minds open up campus facilities to racists? I have no fear that racists' right will be quashed. They can go to Bob Jones University instead of the University of Wisconsin.

Every major corporation has "speech codes." Sexual harassment suits are high among corporate concerns. Do the left and the right both wish to return to the days when women were sexually harassed on the job?

How come the left and the right aren't jointly wringing their hands about the right to use curse words, or threaten public officials, or the right to yell "fire" in a crowded theater? These are the things most Americans like to do.

Gary Romeo
Dallas, Texas

Lies in the wrong place

A FRIEND RECENTLY SHOWED ME THE "ETC." SECTION of your May 1 issue in which you quote "Lies of Our Times" accusing *Newsweek* magazine of having used an airbrush on an Associated Press photo to soften the "original grimace" on an Iraqi prisoner of war.

I'm enclosing a copy of the *Newsweek* cover and the contents page so you might see that (1) the photo is not an AP photo but my photo that the AP picked up from the Department of Defense pool and which the publications you say reproduced the image accurately failed to give me credit for and (2) the "original grimace" is still in place.

The Persian Gulf war is only the latest conflict I've covered for *Newsweek*. Since becoming a contract photographer for the magazine in 1985, I have (from my base in Managua, Nicaragua, until 1990) covered the contra war, the Salvadoran civil war, the overthrow of Duvalier in Haiti and the invasion of Panama. In none of these conflicts have *Newsweek* editors ever manipulated my images, regardless of whose side the protagonist might be on.

By faithfully quoting "Lies of Our Times," your publication has fallen victim to the same lies it seeks to condemn.

Bill Gentile
Miami, Fla.

Editor's note: We regret repeating the error from "Lies of Our Times." We should have independently verified the allegation.

Banning hate speech

REGARDING STEVEN HELLE'S ARTICLE ON LAWS and regulations against "hate speech" (ITT, June 26), I truly doubt if Mari Matsuda, Richard Delgado, Derrick Bell and the other privileged elites who favor this abridgement of the First Amendment have ever truly experienced harmful speech. I (like so many other working-class Americans) was once

hounded out of my job by supervisors who made my life a living hell. Unlike Matsuda, Delgado, et al., I could not simply walk away. I had to endure the "hate speech" of my supervisors for economic reasons. Why are there no bleeding hearts demanding legal sanctions against the speech that is truly harmful? I lost my job as a result of "hate speech" inspired by class discrimination, and discrimination on the basis of class is common as dirt.

If we are going to ban "harmful" speech, show some tangible, provable harm—such as the loss of a job. Show that the victim could not walk away but was forced to endure the "hate speech" day after day because the "haters" held power over him. So far, Matsuda and company want only to punish powerless students or working people who hold no power over their alleged victims.

By the way, now that we have seen the ethnic hatreds released by free speech in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, will Matsuda, Delgado, Bell and the others call for a totalitarian U.S.?

Tim Rookey
Madison, Wis.

Of and for

NO, NO, NO! I EXPECT THIS FROM THE MAINSTREAM press, but not from *In These Times*. Pat Aufderheide's article on the *Point of View* documentaries (ITT, June 12) referred to the "National Organization of Women." It's important to recognize that the group is actually the "National Organization for Women." Many men are members and support the group's avowed goal of bringing women into the political and economic mainstream of American life. NOW men work just as hard as the women do—in fact, the national board has two elected men seated right now and many local chapters have had male presidents.

As far as we're concerned, the more feminists, the better—NOW doesn't discriminate on the basis of sex.

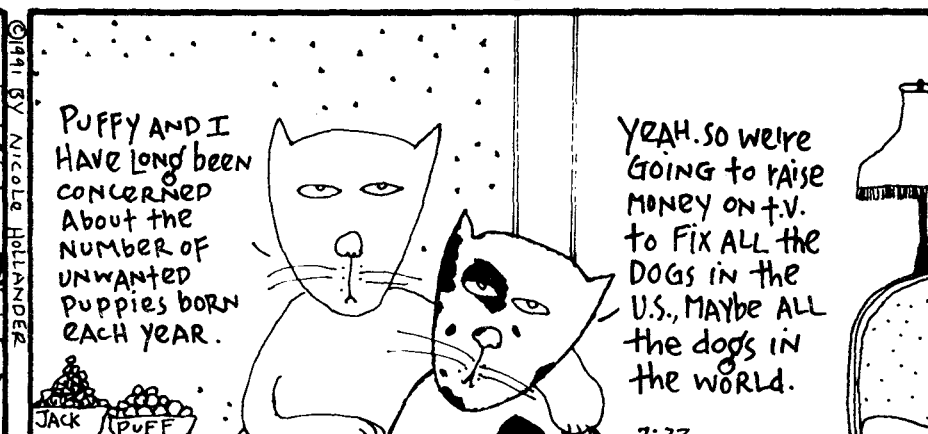
Lisa Small
Arlington, Va.

In praise of Spike

NO WONDER WE BECOME SITTING DUCKS FOR right-wing charges of politically correct silliness when *In These Times* prints a reductionist review of *Jungle Fever* that treats it like a didactic treatise instead of a work of art (ITT, June 26). Gregory Stevens advances his colonial baloney by quoting only some of the points of view expressed in this amazing, complicated film. Lucky for us, Spike Lee is too big an artist to stuff his pictures into narrow arguments and either/or traps.

Ann Cader
St. Paul, Minn.

SYLVIA



By Steve Lilienthal

IN THESE TIMES' MAY 15 EDITORIAL CRITICIZING the Democratic Leadership Council faults the DLC for offering "nothing new" in policy. If anything failed to be "new," however, it was *In These Times'* willingness to overlook the DLC's substantive progress in developing policies that can unite middle- and working-class whites with minority voters. Rather than thoughtfully critique the DLC, the editorial relied on the same stereotypes that "liberal fundamentalists" have used to characterize the organization since its formation six years ago.

Back then, the presence of white, moderate-to-conservative Democrats, such as Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA) prompted Jesse Jackson to deride the organization as "Democrats for the Leisure Class." Its call for the Democratic Party to return to the mainstream was interpreted by dogmatic progressive activists as a call to simply mimic the Republican Party's supply-side policies.

However, the DLC has consistently worked to broaden its base beyond Southern and Western officeholders. Members include such prominent Northeastern liberals as Rep. Barbara Kennelly (D-CT), former House Majority Whip Bill Gray (D-PA) and Rep. Mike Espy (D-MS), the first black representative from Mississippi since Reconstruction.

Since its inception, the DLC has worked to give Democratic officeholders a greater say in party affairs, a practice that faded in recent years as activists grew more domi-

In criticizing the DLC ITT resorts to stale ideas

nant in the presidential nominating process. Furthermore, DLC theorists argue that the conventional liberal and conservative responses to the industrial age lack contemporary relevance. They offer severe criticism of the GOP for implementing irresponsible fiscal policies while chastising the dogmatic democratic left for catering to special interests that fail "to assert American values at home and abroad."

Old dogma, new tricks: *In These Times* betrays its dogmatic thinking by asserting that Walter Mondale and Michael Dukakis lost the 1984 and 1988 presidential elections because they failed to provide a strong liberal alternative to the Reagan-Bush policies. CBS *New York Times* exit polls demonstrate that both Democratic candidates captured the bulk of black and self-identified liberal voters.

ABC News exit-poll data from the 1988 election shows the overwhelming majority of voters "most liked" Dukakis' stands on health care and poverty. However, voters preferred Bush's stand on the economy over Dukakis' 56 percent to 43 percent. Bush's position on national defenses was preferred 88 percent to 12 percent over that of his Massachusetts rival.

Against prevailing evidence, *In These Times* argues that a bolder progressive

message would have inspired a stronger minority turnout and produced a Democratic victory. But *In These Times'* argument is undercut by Ruy Teixeira's analysis of the 1988 election in the January/February 1989 issue of *Public Opinion* magazine. Teixeira calculated that a 10 percent jump in Hispanic and black turnout in 1988 would still have provided Bush with a 3.3 million vote edge.

Progressives tend to forget that the strong effort by Jesse Jackson to mobilize black voters in 1984 led to a countermobilization of conservative whites in states such as North Carolina that profited Ronald Reagan and Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC). Remember, it is Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-GA)

The 1988 election would have turned out the same way even if more people had voted.

who has been pushing to make voter registration more accessible to the young—a sign that younger voters are swinging toward the GOP.

In These Times' call for an education

campaign to convince voters about the negative impact of the Reagan-Bush policies is unconvincing, given that progressive organizations and labor have been doing just that for 11 years and, evidently, with little success. ABC news data shows Bush sliced 35 percent of the union vote from Dukakis. Dogmatic progressives are content with brandishing the same old policies and rhetoric before an electorate that remains unmoved by calls for "fairness." While the DLC sincerely re-examined the Democratic Party's failure to connect with voters and made the necessary adjustments, dogmatic progressives appear intent on repeating the same counterproductive strategies and rhetoric only in larger measure.

Even progressive pollster Stanley Greenberg faced criticism from "liberal fundamentalists" when he told Democratic strategists that many white middle-class and working-class voters interpreted the "fairness" message as representing special assistance to minority voters.

While dogmatic progressives have generally paid little heed to the findings of pollsters like Greenberg, the DLC and its affiliated think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute, have been crafting policies designed to overcome the cultural rift between white and black America by emphasizing increased economic opportunity.

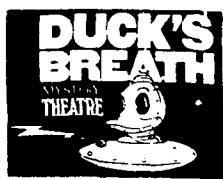
By the DLC's thinking, the insurgent philosophy behind the "Great Society" hardened into a rigid belief in bureaucracy. The DLC's executive director, Al From, who worked for the Office of Economic Opportu-

THE DR. SCIENCE "SMUG MUG"

This bright yellow mug is just the advantage that you'll need to wrestle the 90's to the ground! On one side, our adorable series mascot; the other side proudly proclaims: "I KNOW MORE THAN YOU DO!" in big, bold letters. A must for any desk! **Set of two: \$17.95 ppd**



I KNOW MORE THAN YOU DO!



THE DUCK'S BREATH MULTI-MEDIA KIT

Prepare yourself for sensory overload! Includes: the SPACEDUCK teeshirt [White on Bright Red, S/M/L/XL]; the mile-a-minute comic novel IAN SHOALES' PERFECT WORLD ("...the most fun of its kind since The Hitchhiker's Guide To The Galaxy." -Booklist); our newest 90-min. comedy cassette, SENSELESS CRUELTY; and a DUCK'S BREATH bumpersticker. WOW, all at a savings of 30%! **Only \$21.95 ppd**



ZADARI COW FROM HELL!

Featuring our very own slightly befuddled and highly radioactive cow from hell. 100% Cotton Teeshirt. S/M/L/XL **\$12.95 ppd**



HOMEMADE RADIO

"The funniest 90 seconds on radio!" -L.A. Times Cass. 43 min. **\$8.95 ppd**

IAN SHOALES' PERFECT WORLD

A day in the fantasy life of America's super-cynical "Seer of Sneer" Chicago Sun Times. **203pp \$9.95 ppd**

ORDER DIRECTLY FROM PUBLIC RADIO'S LEADING FUNNY GUYS!

Please send Check, Money Order, or Credit Card info to: DUCK'S BREATH Dept. INT P.O. BOX 22513 SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94122 or charge by phone: (415) 621-2725 M-F / 9am-6pm pacific time All prices Postpaid. VISA / MC / DINERS accepted.

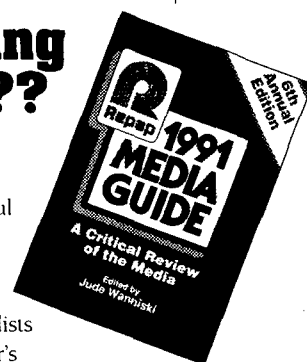
Name _____ Phone () _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Credit Card # _____ Exp _____
Signature _____

**It's good to know the press
is watching them...**



**...but who's watching
the press??**

The Repap MediaGuide. For over six years, MediaGuide has been monitoring the press and evaluating its performance, bringing you bold, insightful analysis of the journalists and publications that help shape policy and influence public opinion. Recognized as an indispensable guide to the North American media, this sixth edition reviews more than 700 journalists and 50 publications, including commentary on the year's major news stories, broadcast news and the Canadian press.



"...fascinating reading, an irresistible blend of fact and opinion. It does for the press what the Almanac of American Politics does for the political scene."
- G. R. Graf, *Choice*

**For Immediate
Delivery:**

Call 1-800-MEDIA-88
ask for EXT: 205

205

INTRODUCTORY OFFER

Order the 1991 MediaGuide for \$32.95 (\$29.95 + \$3 shipping) and we'll send you the 1990 MediaGuide absolutely **FREE**

Name _____
Address _____
☐ Charge ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard Card# _____
Signature _____ Exp. Date _____
☐ Check (Payable to Polyconomics Inc.)

MAIL TO: Polyconomics Inc., 86 Maple Ave., Morristown, N.J. 07960

nity in the Johnson administration, discovered that the War on Poverty "rather than empower the poor ... often kept people dependent." And instead of easing social tensions, it often aroused racial animosity. Civil rights legislation helped end overt discrimination, and now the challenge is to insure opportunities are available for the less affluent and middle class.

American dreams: Proposals developed by the Progressive Policy Institute (PPI) concentrate on identifying and catering to the "shared aspirations" of blacks and whites. They have in mind both the kid hanging tough in a housing project surrounded by crime, drugs and stifled dreams just as much as the kid from a blue-collar suburb struggling to finance a college edu-

cation and raise a family.

One PPI proposal calls for forming a "Police Corps" that will allow college students to earn up to \$40,000 in tuition assistance by walking beats in crime-ridden neighborhoods. PPI has also proposed a "Teacher Corps" and an "Earth Corps" that would grant tuition assistance to those volunteering to teach or to become involved with environmental protection programs.

Dogmatic liberals believe it is important to raise the minimum wage to help working-class Americans. The PPI argues that few workers in minimum-wage jobs work full-time or have families to support. Instead, expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit would insure full-time workers have a guaranteed working wage. Doubling or tri-

pling the tax exemption for small children would also help working-class Americans.

Clearly, less affluent Americans are prevented from advancing economically by their lack of financial assets. However, the PPI proposes Individual Development Accounts that will allow low-income citizens to save for their children's education, a first-time home purchase or retirement. Low-income citizens saving money would be eligible for matching grants from the government.

While *In These Times* is critical of the 1990 budget agreement, which DLC Executive Director From endorsed, the lack of resources available for domestic initiatives is attributable more to the budget deficit than defense spending, which is gradually

being reduced. *In These Times* readers might be surprised to learn that the DLC advocates more progressivity in the tax system, supports the move by Sen. Pat Moynihan (D-NY) to reduce Social Security payroll taxes and opposes capital gains tax reductions as providing "windfall tax relief" for only the well-to-do.

Dogmatic liberals fail to recognize that the true battle is for the center of the American electorate. Their call for a bolder liberalism will be met with disbelief by skeptical American voters. While *In These Times* calls for a campaign of "genuine education" to nudge the center further to the left, it is the DLC and PPI who have been doing just that, and with more success. ■

By James Weinstein

STEVE LILIENTHAL HAS MADE A VALIANT effort to show that the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) has departed from the one-party politics of recent years. Yet despite citing a few of the DLC's progressive positions, his description of the DLC only validates our comments about it.

Lilienthal argues around the point of my editorial but never gets to it. First, he quotes Jesse Jackson's rhetoric about the DLC as "Democrats for the Leisure Class." Although we supported Jackson's candidacy in the 1988 primaries, we do not agree that the DLC represents the leisure class. Instead, we see them as Democrats for the national security state. Of course, many in the leisure class

Nibbling at the edges can't create a second party

are beneficiaries of the national security state, but the two are hardly synonymous. Lilienthal obscures the DLC's basic loyalty to a narrow corporate elite that enhances its position and profitability at everyone else's expense.

Then Lilienthal praises the DLC for its efforts to broaden its base of officeholders. But that tells us nothing about the principles for which the DLC stands. Any group

seeking to gain control over the direction of a major party will naturally seek to broaden its base of support among party officials. That's the most narrowly pragmatic of goals and hardly one that distinguishes the DLC from those in control of the Republican party.

Office politics: Indeed, as Lilienthal tells us, the DLC's executive director has always intended to remove control of the Democratic party from its rank-and-file members and place it more firmly in the hands of the very officials who are responsible for the practice of chasing after the Republicans. Nothing could demonstrate this more clearly than the DLC's adoption of Republican rhetoric about special interests.

Let's look at this for a moment. Who are the "special interests" to which Lilienthal refers? They are the labor movement, environmentalists, health care advocates, the affordable housing movement, African-Americans, feminists, school reformers and people who favor a more progressive income tax system. Taken together these "special interests" constitute a large majority of the American people.

Now, it is true that the Republicans, who represent the owners and major stockholders of the oil industry, the auto industry

mon interest is obscured by Republican and DLC rhetoric about defending our national interest abroad through enormous military outlays. But maintaining a national security state that expends our resources to police the world for the special interests that actually control our country has little to do with our true national interest—which is to say that the DLC's policies are not in the interest of the vast majority of Americans.

This does not mean that we consider all of the DLC's ideas to be conservative. DLC efforts to overcome the rift between white and black Americans by emphasizing increased economic opportunities are a step in the right direction. This quest is quixotic, however, given its commitment to a strong military establishment and interventionist policies throughout the world. Similarly, we share the DLC's criticisms of the bureaucratic character of many "Great Society" reforms. And we see Progressive Policy Institute ideas about Earned Income Tax credits, increased tax exemptions for children, proposals to increase income tax progressivity and to reduce Social Security tax rates as steps in the right direction.

Principled politics: But all of these proposals simply nibble at the edges of a fundamentally flawed set of social priorities. For the left to succeed it must offer the American people a new set of principles and values. This will require a redefinition of national security and national goals.

And if the left is to succeed in bringing the more than 50 percent of disenfranchised voters into the electoral arena, if it is to have a chance of winning majority support, it must offer something genuinely new. Against the idea that an increase in the number of voters would benefit the left—or the Democrats—Lilienthal cites an article that concludes that a 10 percent increase in voter turnout would have made no difference in the 1988 presidential race. But this argument is disingenuous because it assumes such an increase occurring without a change in the terms of debate between the candidates. In such circumstances the turnout could double and it would make little difference.

To distinguish themselves from the Republican Party, the Democrats must do more than adopt an opportunistic electoral strategy. A Democratic Party adhering to new principles could unite the various groups now branded as "special interests" and wrest something more than crumbs from corporate America's feast. The DLC, on the other hand, is still doling out crumbs. ■

Non-Toxic Home

Wood

lives through

its warm color, its

lively structure, familiar

scent, and pleasant surface; **wood**

breathes with natural primers, finishes,

and balms made from plant oils, tree resins,

and waxes. **Walls are our third skin** due to their

influence on indoor climate, their

harmony of colors, and their utilization of natural coating materials.

A **biological wall-design** with

wall-paints, colors, and plant lasures

made from natural pigments and

binding agents (non-petroleum) —

free of harmful fumes, for the

health home. **TRUST NATURE.**

AURO

The natural solution for paint and surface treatment

- Impregnations, Lasurs and Waxes
- Clear and tinted Lacquers
- Wallpaints and Glues
- Plant Cleaners and Polishes
- Plant Colors for Painting and Modeling

SINAN CO. — Natural Building Materials Dept.
P.O. Box 857, Davis, CA 95617-0857... (916) 753-3104

If the terms of debate were changed, the turnout would go up and people would have a reason to vote Democratic.

and most of the rest of the corporate elite, have succeeded in painting the Democrats' constituency as a collection of special interests. But they have been able to do that only because federal budget priorities have forced these various groups and movements to compete against each other to get a bit more of federal resources. In competition against one another each looks like a special interest. Meanwhile, their com-

By Stephen Leberstein

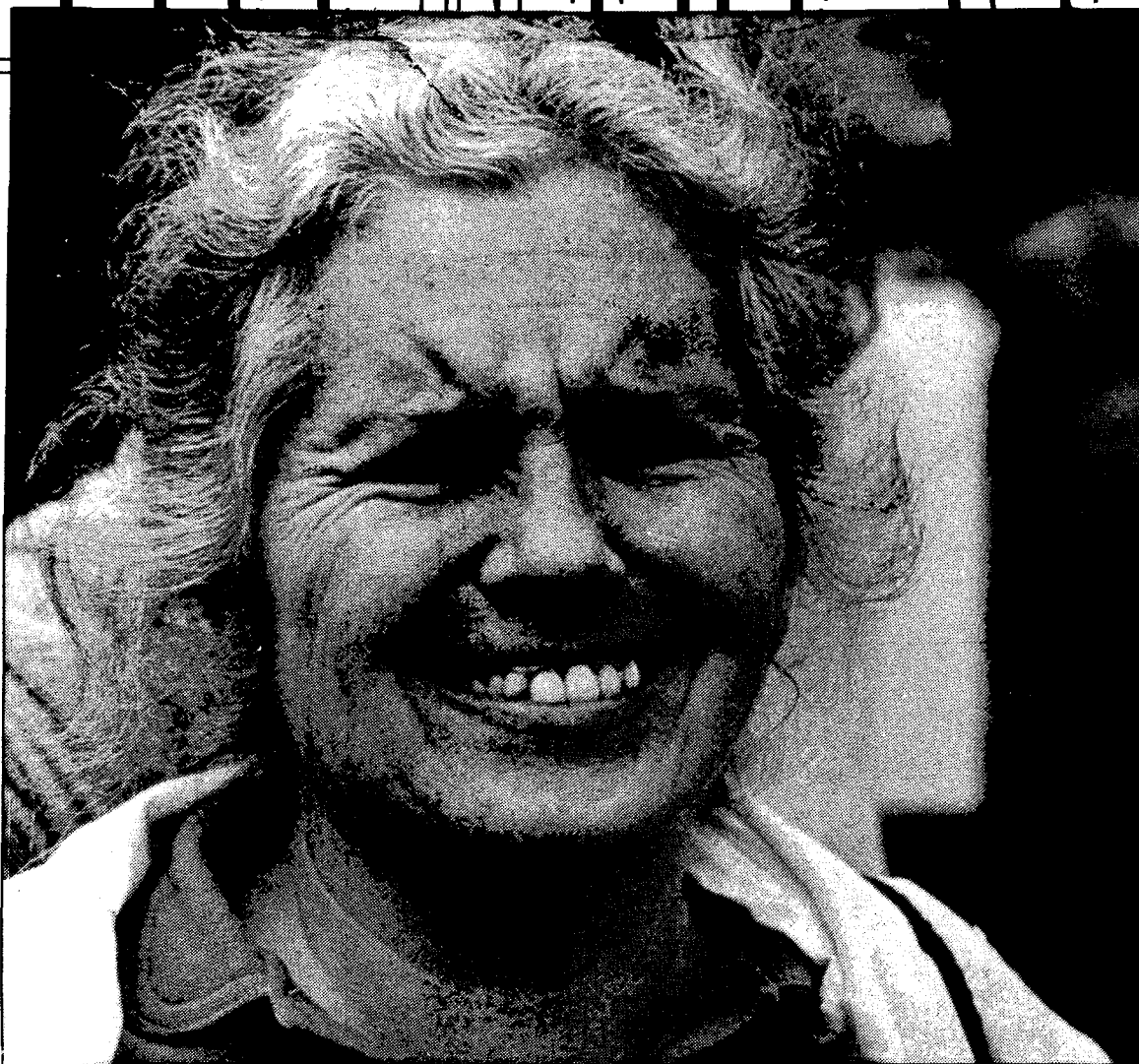
ON MAY 23RD, IN THE AUDITORIUM of the New York Health Care Workers Union, Local 1199, a group called Jews for Racial and Economic Justice honored trade unionist Moe Foner, author Grace Paley and editor and historian Morris Schappes for their life's work in the struggle for social justice. Several hundred admirers cheered as Ossie Davis presided and Odetta sang "Standing by the River." Then people danced in the aisles to the traditional Jewish music of the Klezmerim, led by Harold Seletzky's wailing clarinet.

Foner's, Paley's and Schappes' paths had crossed decades before. Indeed, Foner and Schappes knew each other 50 years earlier as employees of the City College of New York (Foner as clerk in the registrar's office; Schappes as English instructor). Paley was an evening student there, trying to earn high enough grades so she could re-enter Hunter College (at that time, City College, the "Harvard of the Proletariat," didn't allow women in its liberal arts program).

The May event celebrated their shared experiences 50 years before: both Foner and Schappes were fired—along with more than 30 others at CCNY—for refusing to name names before a red-hunting state legislative investigating committee. And Paley was treated to the spectacle, a lesson in the "political correctness" of an earlier era. Hounded out of New York's public colleges a half-century before, branded "reds" by the Hearst press, Foner and Schappes stood in front of cheering admirers honoring them for remaining true to the values that once landed them in trouble. Paley later shared the honor of being branded a part of "the radical left" by *Commentary*.

Precursor to McCarthyism: Jews for Radical and Economic Justice (JFREJ) organized the event "to provide a Jewish presence in the struggle for justice in New York City." Honoring Foner, Paley and Schappes was a good way to remind New Yorkers that Jews have long been prominent in struggles for social justice. The purges of public school and college teachers by the New York state legislature's infamous Rapp Coudert Committee between 1940 and 1942 set the stage for post-war McCarthyism and marked that generation of leftists for the rest of their lives.

All four Foner brothers lost their jobs in the purge: Moe, a clerk in CCNY's registrar's office, began his labor career working for the department store union; Jack and Phil, both historians, later made major contributions to the development of African-American and labor history at other colleges; and Henry, the youngest, lost his job teaching stenography in the city's high



Grace Paley: an oldtime "red" who stuck to her guns.

Left out in '40s, honored today

schools and became education director of the Fur Workers' Union, from which he retired as president two years ago.

What were their crimes in the eyes of the right? Many if not most of those targeted by the Rapp Coudert Committee were members of the Communist Party, and charges of

THE LEFT

"Communist subversion" were all over the newspapers as the investigation gathered steam in 1940. But party membership was not illegal then, and none of those purged was ever charged or convicted of being a member of the party.

Led by state Sen. Frederic R. Coudert (R-Manhattan), a partner in the international law firm of Coudert and Coudert (notable for representing fascist governments), the Rapp Coudert Committee invented ways of having progressives fired from public jobs for their political beliefs. Among its more than 50 victims at New York's four public colleges in the early '40s, more than 90 percent were Jewish.

The early '40s were not unlike the

New Yorkers Foner, Schappes and Paley were honored for never having given up the good fight for social justice.

early '90s in some ways. The city was still in the grip of the Great Depression, and citizens' and taxpayers' groups were strident in their calls for scaling back government spending. City College, which, along with its three sister institutions, Brooklyn, Hunter and Queens colleges, had seen its enrollment swell in the '30s, as thousands of unemployable working-class kids, many of them the children of Jewish immigrants, went to college. Seeing Jews, many of whom were also "reds," the Taxpayers Union demanded that City College be closed.

Both Foner and Schappes had graduated from City College. Like others of their generation, they were hired on at City as low-wage workers after their graduation to help cope with the demands of a burgeoning student enrollment. Like other Depression-era workers, they began organizing a union and brought the concerns of urban immigrant workers to the college. Prominent among these was the fight against fascism, support for the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War, and, closer to home, the integration of City College.

Early in the '30s, Foner and Schappes helped organize an Anti-Fascist Association that later rallied support for the embattled Spanish Republic. Today a bronze plaque in the entrance to the former Main Building commemorates those from City College who died fighting in the Lincoln Brigade. At the same time, the younger faculty and staff began organizing a union.

The faculty had little control over curriculum or appointments. Staff

wages were abysmally low: Schappes never earned more than \$2,400 a year in his 13 years at City College. An embryonic union at City, the Instructional Staff Association, soon joined the New York Teachers Union Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and then won a charter as Local 537, the New York College Teachers Union, in which most of the City College people were part of a left-wing rank-and-file caucus that unseated the union's old-guard leadership in 1938. Although the union did not yet have the right to bargain collectively at public colleges, it did wage a successful battle to "democratize" them by winning a tenure law covering all teachers and reforming the governance of curriculum and faculty appointments.

Proud legacy: If you ask the surviving members of this group what accomplishments they are proudest of, they are likely to speak about their role in integrating City College in 1938. Located on the western edge of Harlem, City had few black students in the '30s. And it had no black instructors and no courses on black history or culture. Those blacks who did manage to get into City organized a Frederick Douglass Society and, encouraged by sympathetic faculty advisers, pressed the college to hire a black instructor who could offer a course on African-American history.

This coalition succeeded in getting Max Yergan, former head of the National Negro Congress, hired to teach in the education department. On his first day on campus, Yergan

was invited to lunch in the faculty dining room by Schappes, Philip Foner and a few others. They were promptly told that blacks were not served there. Undaunted, this group led an impromptu sit-in that quickly desegregated the faculty dining room.

Bum Rapp and Russell's paradox: The Rapp Coudert Committee in 1940 questioned Yergan as well as the adviser to the Douglass Society, Lewis Balamuth. Both of them lost their jobs, thus ending for a time the integration of the college's teaching staff and the diversification of its curriculum.

The press featured headlines of the "red" menace at City College, and allegations of Communist "infiltration" were common in the period following the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939. This was also the time when the House Un-American Activities Committee was first authorized, when the Smith Act was passed and when 18 states began demanding that teachers and other public employees sign loyalty oaths.

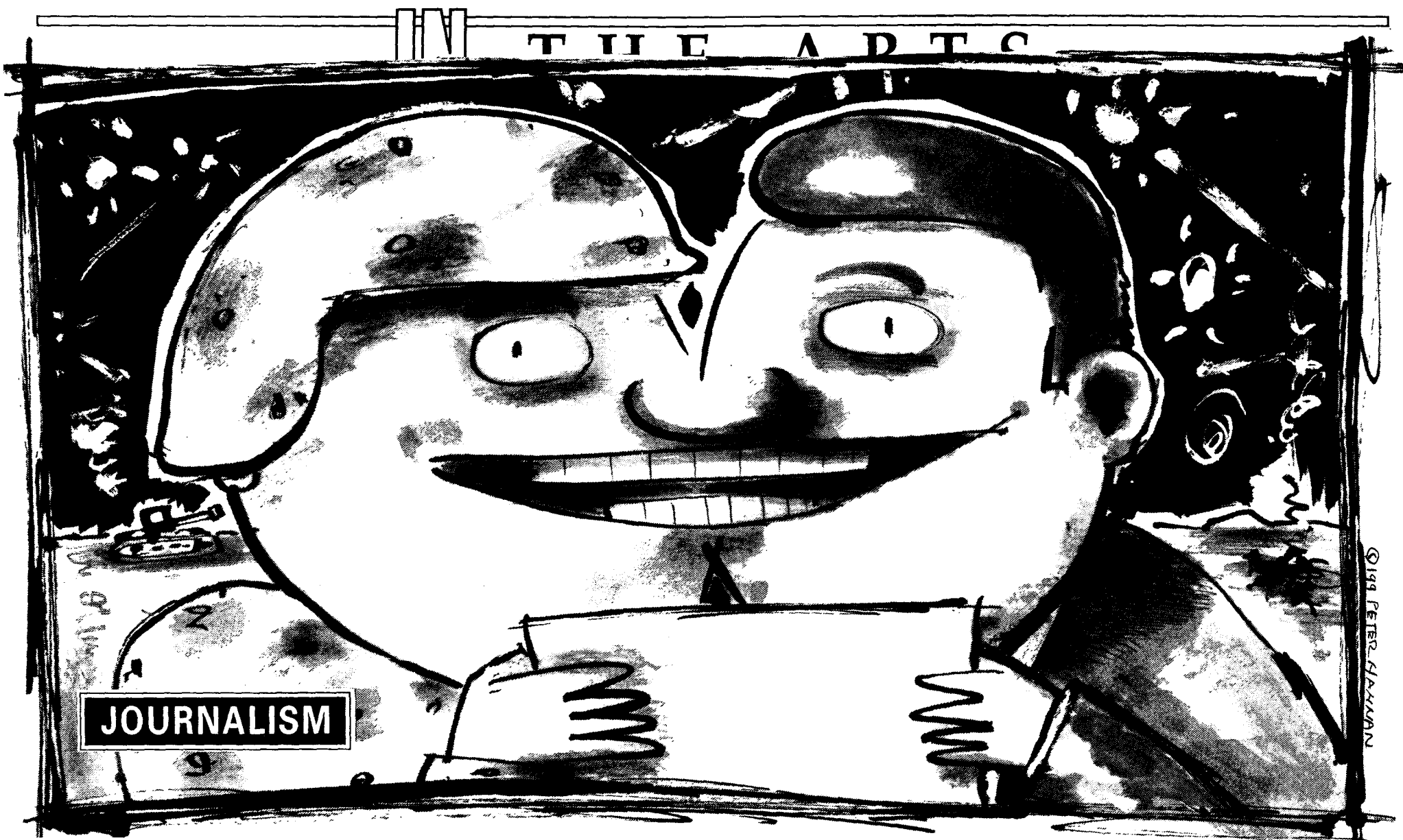
In New York, the trouble started when City College tried to hire Bertrand Russell to teach philosophy, and the right rose in fury to denounce a public institution that would squander taxpayers' money on the "god-less advocate of free love," as the newspaper of the Brooklyn Diocese of the Catholic Church put it. With the connivance of Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, the right saved the city's youth from Russell and convinced the state legislature to launch an investigation into subversion in the public schools and colleges.

So, in the fall of 1940, the Rapp Coudert Committee subpoenaed the membership list of the Teachers Union. The list yielded the names of all the usual suspects.

But since a legislative committee couldn't have anyone jailed for the "crimes" of union organizing or racial integration, it called on its victims to name names, and then forced the city's Board of Higher Education to fire employees who wouldn't do so. More than 50 had the honor of losing their jobs this way, and Morris Schappes did jail time on a count of perjury, sacrificed as an example by Manhattan D.A. Thomas Dewey. Despite all the red-baiting, no one was ever officially accused of membership in the Communist Party or even of misconduct as a teacher or staff member. They were all fired for a matter of principle: refusing to "name names."

Now joined by a former student, Grace Paley, whose own career has been distinguished by political activity and sometimes teaching at City College, Foner and Schappes were honored for never having given up the good fight.

Stephen Leberstein is executive director of the City College Center for Worker Education.



©199 PETER HANNA

By Walter M. Brasch

A major conflict of interest: journalist or military flack?

LIKE REPORTERS EVERYWHERE, Keith Martin wanted to be where the action was, and during the first part of the year the action was in the Persian Gulf. Unlike the other reporters, Martin was a double agent. In fact, the other reporters at WBRE-TV, an NBC affiliate in Scranton/Wilkes-Barre, Pa., where Martin anchors the evening news, even proudly proclaimed his conflicting assignments — although they never mentioned the phrase “double agent.” They didn’t see it as a conflict.

Martin has been a TV journalist for more than two decades. He’s also in the Pennsylvania National Guard. Not a grunt but an officer. A *major*. As in management. And he isn’t just any officer but a public-affairs officer (PAO). Commander of the 109th Public Affairs Detachment. The military’s very own flack.

Martin spent a week in February in the Persian Gulf reporting on the war and local units from northeastern Pennsylvania. He wasn’t activated by the Department of Defense — apparently even the military has its limits on how many PAOs it can tolerate in a combat zone.

No, he was there as a journalist, although the distinction between flack and journalist blurred when on-air promotions and fellow reporters identified him as *Major Martin*. In addition to daily reports, Martin produced a one-hour special in which he interviewed 85 troops from northeastern Pennsylvania.

Now, with the war over, there are still stories to report. So Maj. Keith Martin went to Fort Drum, N.Y., July

12 to report on the encampment of the 109th Infantry, a unit of the Pennsylvania National Guard. For the 6 p.m. newscast he reported on the special training the unit was getting so it could convert to being an armored unit by the end of the year. For the 11 p.m. newscast Martin reported on the “excellent” safety record of the 109th.

Clothes make the man: Because Maj. Martin was on active duty at the time, a part of his 15-day a year commitment, he fed video and sound to all three stations in the Scranton/Wilkes-Barre market. Not surprisingly, only WBRE-TV aired his report. And, of course, he was identified on the air as *Maj. Martin*. But that wasn’t completely necessary since he was dressed, on camera, in

battle fatigues, complete with combat face paint.

The codes of ethics of the various journalism organizations are fairly clear about conflict of interest. The Society of Professional Journalists states that journalists “must be free of obligation to any interest other than the public’s right to know the truth. ... Secondary employment ... should be avoided if it compromises the integrity of journalists and their employers.”

The Radio Television News Directors Association states that “Broadcast journalists shall govern their ...

nonprofessional associations as may impinge on their professional activities in a manner that will protect them from conflict of interest, real or apparent.” The American Society of Newspaper Editors states that journalists “must avoid ... any conflict of interest or the appearance of conflict.” And the Associated Press Managing Editors code declares that journalists “should make every effort to be free of obligations to news sources and special interests. ... Outside employment that conflicts with the news interests should be avoided. Secondary employment by news

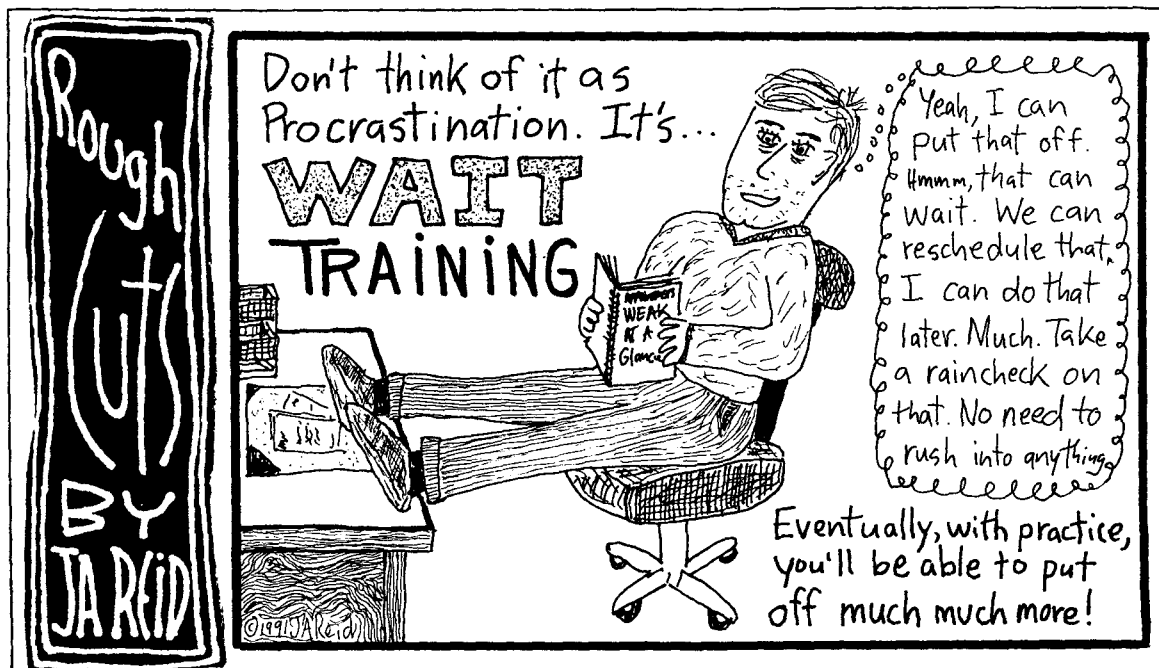
sources is an obvious conflict.”

So, what does Larry Stirewalt, WBRE-TV news director, say about all this? Stirewalt doesn’t believe there is a conflict of interest. “We make it very clear that Keith is in the National Guard,” says Stirewalt, noting that “as long as you’re straightforward with people, it’s all right.” He says that all journalists have conflicts, and that “being a professional means compensating for whatever baggage you’re carrying.” Then he asks the question, “Why shouldn’t journalists [be able to] serve their country in the National Guard?”

Journalists, if they choose, *should* be able to be in the Guard or any of the military reserves. Or even the Rotary Club. They just shouldn’t be reporting about them. ■

Walter Brasch teaches at Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania.

He was there as a journalist, although the distinction blurred when on-air promotions and fellow reporters identified him as Major Martin.



In the Spirit of Crazy Horse

By Peter Matthiessen
Viking, 672 pp., \$25

Imaginary Homelands

By Salman Rushdie
Viking, 432 pp., \$24.95

By Fred Little

Spirit of Crazy Horse comes back to life

IN THE SPIRIT OF CRAZY HORSE WOULD be worth reading even if it hadn't been suppressed for eight years in an extended and monumental affront to the right to publish carried out by former South Dakota Gov. William Janklow and FBI Special Agent David Price. This effort, which extended beyond the author and the publisher to bookstores and store owners, was a brazen effort to suppress political and reportorial speech through punitive misapplication of libel statutes.

Noted First Amendment lawyer Martin Garbus writes in the book's afterword that initial grounds for these actions were Janklow's claims that "Matthiessen's recounting of historical charges and accusations leveled against [Janklow] by the American Indian Movement, together with 'other factual errors too numerous to include' was 'prepared ... with a reckless disregard for the truth or with actual malice for the plaintiff.'" Janklow apparently took this line of attack because he was unwilling or unable to convincingly refute these same historical charges.

Commercial prerogative: Garbus goes on to note that both Price and Janklow rooted their (ultimately unsuccessful) cases in a distinction between "responsible mainstream journalists" and "leftist sympathizers." Any joy at their failure to win judgment must be tempered by the recent successes of the Pentagon in making just this sort of distinction when determining press-pool access in the recent Persian Gulf war game.

Moreover, the tacit acquiescence to this distinction by commercial media outlets such as the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Washington Post* and the major television networks seems to indicate that "responsible" is code for publishers and journalists whose commitment to the First Amendment is primarily linked to its protection of commercial prerogative rather than the broader protection of political speech intended by the authors of the Constitution.

Nonetheless, Matthiessen's book is back out there on the stands, and that's wonderful. And it's even a nice touch that he closes the book with an interview with a Mr. X who claims that "he" did it. What's not so nice is that that was the only angle that seemed to interest *Newsweek*.

Matthiessen begins his book with a history of the Oglala Lakota from 1835 to 1965. It is, by now, a familiar, painful and unresolved story. There is the 1868 treaty at Fort Laramie in 20 IN THESE TIMES AUG. 7-20, 1991

which the Lakota were pledged "absolute and undisturbed use of the Great Sioux Reservation." There is the 1875 commission to negotiate the relinquishment of the Black Hills. In 1876 comes the Battle of Little Big Horn, followed closely by the seizure of the Black hills and the termination of many Indian resource rights and rights of way. In 1889, another 9 mil-

POLITICS

lion acres were seized. On Dec. 29, 1890, the slaughter at Wounded Knee.

With the exception of the brief agrarian idyll from 1909 or so until World War I, the story from there is one of a more or less steady federal attempt to dismember Lakota language and culture. And that's just the long-lens framing shot, all detailed and studded with perfect quotes and incredibly eloquent testimonies along the way between flashes of long-gone treelines and creek bottoms.

Federal Bureau of Instigation: Without the historical frame, the short form is that this is a book about how two FBI agents wound up dead and Leonard Peltier wound up doing time for doing them (see story page 7). Matthiessen isn't painting any angels in this tableau, but he is putting the scene in context. Some of the context has as much to do with such FBI COINTELPRO operations as the Chicago "low-intensity conflict" that culminated in the assassination of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton as it does with the historical plight of the native peoples.

As Matthiessen notes, Judge William Webster checked off on the FBI's actions at Wounded Knee, and on the entire COINTELPRO operation as well. Shortly thereafter, he became head of the FBI. As a reward for his subsequent good work in refurbishing the image of the FBI—an agency many had come to regard as the U.S. equivalent of East Germany's famed Stasi—he rose to the leadership of the CIA. Now he's leaving the CIA reportedly because President Bush doesn't trust him. If Webster isn't tight enough with Bush to be on the team, it makes one wonder what kind of nasty games these boys are up to?

FBI Special Agent David Price filed a libel suit against this book, alleging that "Matthiessen defamed him by charging that he and other FBI agents ... induced witnesses to commit perjury ... that they were racists and killers; and that they were 'corrupt and vicious.'" The underlying principle in question, the right of a

reporter to repeat "unproven charges and countercharges made during a political controversy," goes to the very heart of the function of free speech in a democratic society. And the fact that this principle was upheld at the level of the Federal Court of Appeals in a decision that the pre-David Souter Supreme Court refused to review is an absolutely critical precedent.

But had the Price appeal gone to the current Supreme Court—or to the wrong Federal Court of Appeals—this book might not be in print now. Many judges appointed during the Reagan regime seem to take a much more limited view of First Amendment rights. One need only witness the fate of the lawsuit filed against the exclusion of this and other newspapers critical of government behavior from the Gulf War press pools to realize this. Moreover, the virtual news blackout in the for-profit press regarding that same suit is sufficient testimony to their self-serving and ultimately hollow posturings regarding freedom of the press. And with Thurgood Marshall gone from the Supreme Court, the future doesn't look good.

In light of these recent events, the importance of the Matthiessen precedent cannot be overstated. Now that *Crazy Horse* is back in print, we can protect our right to read, write, speak and publish most effectively by acting on the information regarding government misconduct that Matthiessen lays out at great length and in copious detail. That means working for a full reconsideration of Peltier's trial on the grounds of systemic and systematic FBI and prosecutorial abuse of the legal system.

But if we can't do it for Leonard Peltier, despite the weight of the evidence, how then to check the larger abuses of Iran-contra, the subversion of anti-trust law in General Electric's purchase of NBC (which critic Marvin Kitman has dubbed "broadcastgate"), the funneling of S&L

funds to the "off-the-shelf" covert operations documented by the *Houston Post's* Pete Brewton, the Grenada incursion that took the airstrip contract out of Soviet hands and delivered it to Bechtel, the Panama follies, the arming of Iraq, the destruction of Iraq, and so on and so forth?

Pick up Matthiessen's book. Read it and weep. Then do something.

Continent and subcontinent: Which brings us to the second item on our agenda: *Imaginary Homelands*. It looks like Rushdie still has things to say, and with any luck he'll be ticking off ideologues of all stripes for years to come. Despite his 11th-hour conversion, Islam—or, for that matter, normative Western liberalism—are not the polestars of Rushdie's thought. They're more like unavoidable features of the terrain he's working his way through.

Though he couldn't have foreseen the precise timing of Rajiv Gandhi's explosive departure from the scene of Indian politics, the inclusion of a number of his essays about Indian politics in general and the Gandhi

Had the case gone to the current Supreme Court the book might not be in print now.

family's manipulative electoral appeals to Hindu communalism in particular, couldn't be more timely. And just what Rushdie does have to say about the whole messy business is considerably more enlightening than anything likely to appear in the *New York Times*.

And why should the *Times*—or any other major U.S. paper, for that matter—do anything but bemoan the situation of those enfeebled brown-skinned people on that bloody subcontinent? It certainly doesn't promise their advertisers the kind of white-skinned new markets to be found in "the newly democratizing countries of Eastern Europe."

Suffice it to say, by way of contrast, that Rushdie's discussions of the deeply conflicted double-binds of Anglo-Indian politics doesn't let any

of the culprits off easy. Why? Because Rushdie—a former adman himself—knows the differences between renting one's tongue and selling it, a distinction that is increasingly lost on the reporters and editors responsible for the "editorial environment" wrapped around the advertisements that are the *raison d'être* of our "mainstream press."

The many values of Rushdie: On the other hand, there are also a great many Hindu nationalists—and for that matter, Moslem separatists—who will deny the right of a westernized British subject such as Rushdie to speak concerning the internal affairs of India. Yet Rushdie is no imperial apologist.

Consider this characterization of Margaret Thatcher and her lofty appeals to the British sense of fair play:

Let me repeat what I said at the beginning: Britain isn't Nazi Germany. The British Empire isn't the Third Reich. But in Germany, after the fall of Hitler, heroic attempts were made by many people to purify German thought and the German language of the pollution of Nazism. Such acts of cleansing are occasionally necessary in every society. But British thought, British society, has never been cleansed of the filth of imperialism. It's still there, breeding lice and vermin, waiting for unscrupulous people to exploit it for their own ends.

Of course, Rushdie also writes beautifully about literature and authors and art and truths. But this is generally acknowledged and not in need of additional attention, though it is true that he does that so well that, were that all he did, this would be an important book. I wouldn't deny that for a minute.

But it is more important that during a decade that, at least for the English-speaking people of this planet, was an outpouring of neo-rightist political cant and intellectual thuggery of the worst sort, Salman Rushdie—a literary figure—managed to write clearly and passionately about the real issues of the day. And he does that so well that, even were that all he did, this would still be an absolutely vital book. That he has done both is awesome.

I'm still mightily pissed off with Rushdie. Not because he cut his conscience to the pattern of the mullahs ... because it is clear that his intelligence is too lively and his tongue too sharp to sink to the quotidian depths of his accusers; but because I believe that he is deluding himself if he thinks that the orthodox of any stripe will meet him halfway. Perhaps that makes me an orthodox secularist. But even had he written nothing else, on the basis of this collection alone I would pray that Salman Rushdie is working, writing and confounding dogmas—mine included—for a very long time.

Fred Little is a writer living in New York.



© 1992 Dan Hubig

Breath Taken: The Landscape and Biography of Asbestos

Catalogue to the exhibition
By Bill Ravanese
Center for Visual Arts in the
Public Interest, 50 pp. \$25

By Jim McNeill

IN 1930, THE METROPOLITAN LIFE Insurance Company asked Dr. Anthony Lanza, an expert in dust diseases, to study X-rays of asbestos miners from Thetford, Quebec. The study, quietly commissioned by the U.S. asbestos industry, was undertaken to determine whether the alarming lung diseases afflicting American asbestos workers were also showing up in Canadian miners. They were.

Lanza found that more than 20 percent were suffering from asbestosis, an irreversible scarring of the lungs. Lanza reported the results to his industry sponsors, but chose not to publicly release his findings.

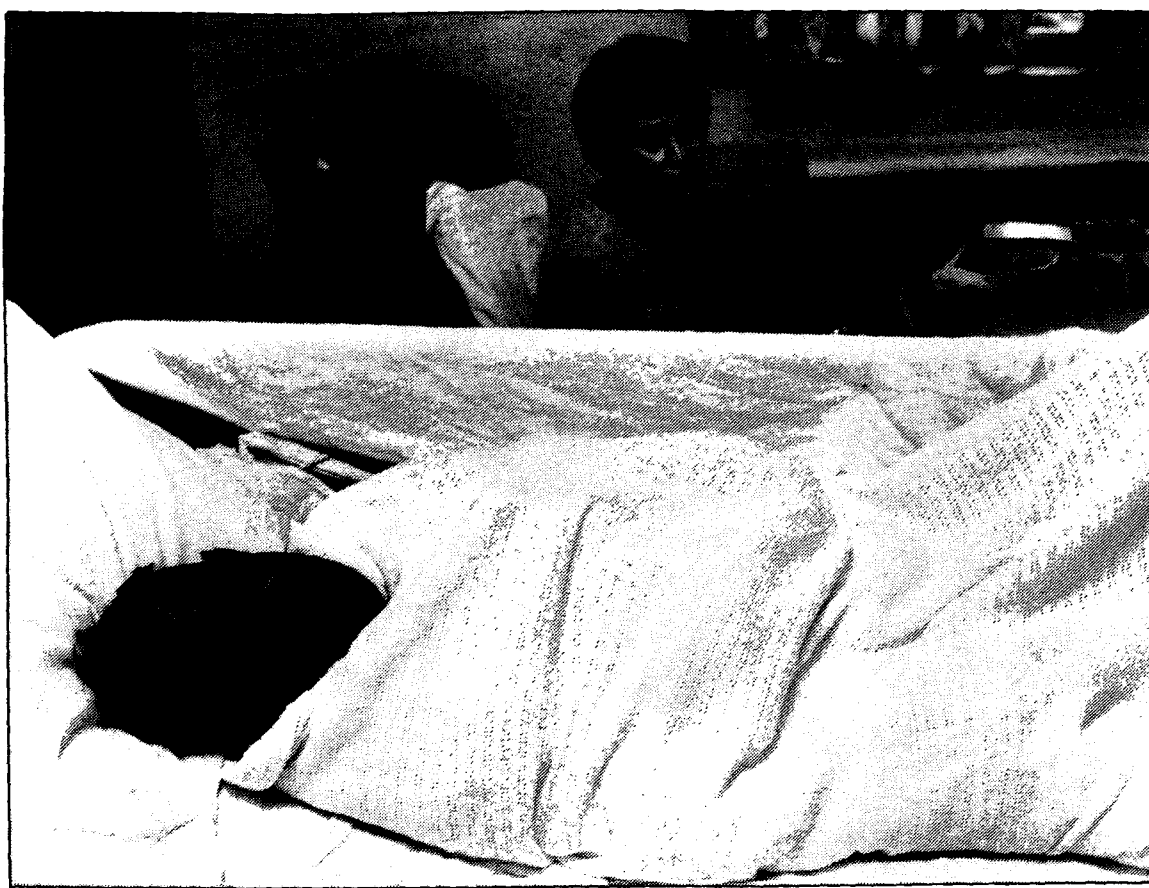
Later, in a prominent medical journal, Lanza said the lack of published evidence linking asbestos mining to lung disease made the prevalence of lung disorders among asbestos factory workers "confusing." While drafting his articles on asbestos, Lanza often allowed asbestos industry attorneys to review and revise the galley proofs. On the strength of those submissions, Lanza became a leading figure in the study of asbestos-related illness.

By 1948, Lanza was busy establishing New York University's (NYU) Institute of Industrial Medicine and had risen to the board of directors of upstate New York's Saranac Laboratory, a leading center for research into pulmonary illness. That year, Saranac researchers completed a study linking cancerous tumors to asbestos exposure. The asbestos industry, which funded the study, was alarmed by the finding, and asked Lanza to intervene. He told the director of the study to omit "all references to cancers or tumors" from the final report. The references never appeared.

Ironically, Lanza died in 1964, the same year that Dr. Irving Selikoff published his landmark study documenting catastrophic mortality rates among asbestos workers. Although Selikoff's study discredited Lanza's life work, NYU posthumously honored Lanza by putting his name on its environmental medicine facility.

Family Ties: If there is, as photographer Bill Ravanese suggests, a "biography" of asbestos, then Dr. Anthony Lanza's life comprises one of its most sordid chapters. By first staying silent, and then drowning out the warnings against asbestos, Lanza was most likely complicit in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people—among them, Anthony Ravanese, father of the aforementioned artist.

In the fall of 1980, Ravanese's father, who'd been exposed to asbestos at a Boston shipyard during World War II, was diagnosed with malignant mesothelioma, an invari-



Asbestos worker Tom Bowlby lies dying after receiving permanent disability leave from N.J.'s Manville Corporation.

A Breath Taken asbestos history

ably fatal asbestos-induced cancer. Three months later he succumbed to the cement-like tumors that encased and finally crushed his lungs. At the time, Bill Ravanese viewed the death as a private tragedy.

But in 1984, after reading *Expendable Americans*, New Yorker-author Paul Brodeur's chronicle of corporate malfeasance in the asbestos and chemical industries, Ravanese began work on the project that would eventually culminate in "Breath Taken," an ambitious exhibition of photographs, videos and written text. Although the catalogue of that exhibition includes specially commissioned essays by Brodeur and others, Ravanese's photographs are its vivid centerpiece.

Behind the technical proficiency of those images—which move seamlessly from enormous landscapes to intimate portraits—is Ravanese's remarkable ability to record the most private moments of ordinary people. He attains this intimacy not by assuming the role of the intrusive documentarian, but by spending years getting to know his subjects.

Like his antiquarian camera—a bellows and black-velvet cloth affair—Ravanese's art seems far removed from our own era. His compositions are formal, the subjects—whether a bustling Canadian mine or a dying American worker—austere. In an age where ironic detachment seems the rule, Ravanese's art cleaves closely to its subject.

The tract home exteriors of Ravanese's company towns would fare poorly in the maw of David Lynch's (or Byrne's) post-modern imagination. What is noble and tragic in Ra-

vanese's world is too often displaced by the merely fantastic and controversial events of their invented worlds.

Throughout his career, Ravanese has drawn attention back to the identifiable, if unfamiliar, inhabitants of this world. His first major photographic project, a study of America's migrant farm workers begun in 1973,

PHOTOGRAPHY

consumed seven years of his life. After that he spent five years capturing life in America's inner cities. Since then, Ravanese has devoted nearly all his time to producing and promoting *Breath Taken*. Although Ravanese ventured from Canadian mines to South Carolina shipyards, he regularly returned to Manville, N.J., the home of asbestos giant Johns-Manville.

What began as an overnight stay

Behind the technical proficiency of the images—which move seamlessly from enormous landscapes to intimate portraits—is Ravanese's remarkable ability to record the most private moments of ordinary people.

in a Manville boarding house grew into a series of longer and longer visits—one lasting more than six months. Ravanese's familiarity with the place shows in his portraits of its people. How did Ravanese enter the hermetic world of Manville?

Java jive: What began as an overnight stay in a Manville boarding house grew into a series of longer and longer visits—one lasting more than six months. Ravanese's familiarity with the place shows in his portraits of its people. How did Ravanese enter the hermetic world of Manville?

If you're patient, Ravanese says, it's simple. "There's always some coffee shop where everybody meets in these small company towns. That's where I go. Of course, when I show up, the first thing they see is a leftie—and they dump all over me. Then they kinda get used to me. After a little while they treat me like a toy—they laugh at my questions. But eventually they'll tell me who does what in town."

In Manville, it was Ted Kowalski's name that kept coming up over coffee. Kowalski, a former employee at the Manville plant, was the leader of a local support group for asbestos victims, and Ravanese's introduction to many of the people pictured in "Breath Taken," Tom Bowlby among them.

Bowlby, who retired from Manville at age 54 with asbestosis, is the subject of the catalogue's most disturbing series of photos. In the first portrait, a 54-year old Bowlby stares fiercely at the camera. His hands are held, almost accusingly, before him—the fingertips are grossly swollen, since his asbestos-scarred lungs can't get oxygen to his extremities.

In the next picture, taken a year later, Bowlby's wife sits beside him in the hospital. Bowlby, stricken by a tumor that metastasized from his lung to his brain, lies comatose on his bed. The final shot, taken one week later, shows Bowlby's enshrouded corpse, suspended in the hospital

morgue.

Blue sky mining: Arthur Sabatini, a New York-based critic and professor who contributes an essay to the catalogue, notes that "there are no blue skies in any of Ravanese's ... photographs." The cloudy skies don't telegraph a sense of gloom, however, but rather solemnity. The diffuse light from these overcast skies lends every image an astonishing clarity.

Remarking on Ravanese's photograph of a gigantic Quebec strip mine—nearly a mile wide and 1,200 feet deep—Sabatini admits, "This is a remarkable sight, as worthy of aesthetic representation as Babylonian ziggurats or the valleys and mountain ranges of America."

And just as Ravanese's photographs faithfully relay the tragic beauty of these scenes, Brodeur's essay in the exhibition catalogue acknowledges the "miraculous" utility of asbestos: "[I]ts fibrous structure is, if anything, more amazing than its remarkable ability to withstand heat." A million asbestos fibrils fit in a single inch, Brodeur informs us. "By contrast only 680 human hairs can be aligned along the same distance. And because its miniscule fibers are eminently respirable, asbestos has also found its way into the lungs of human beings, where, by remaining as indestructible as it does in nature, it can wreak terrible havoc."

According to Brodeur, asbestos has already claimed 150,000 American lives. Although the EPA's phase-down ban prohibits the manufacture of asbestos products beyond 1996, four to six million buildings in the U.S. still contain asbestos. And Ravanese notes that Americans still drink water from 200,000 miles of pipe manufactured with a mix of cement and asbestos.

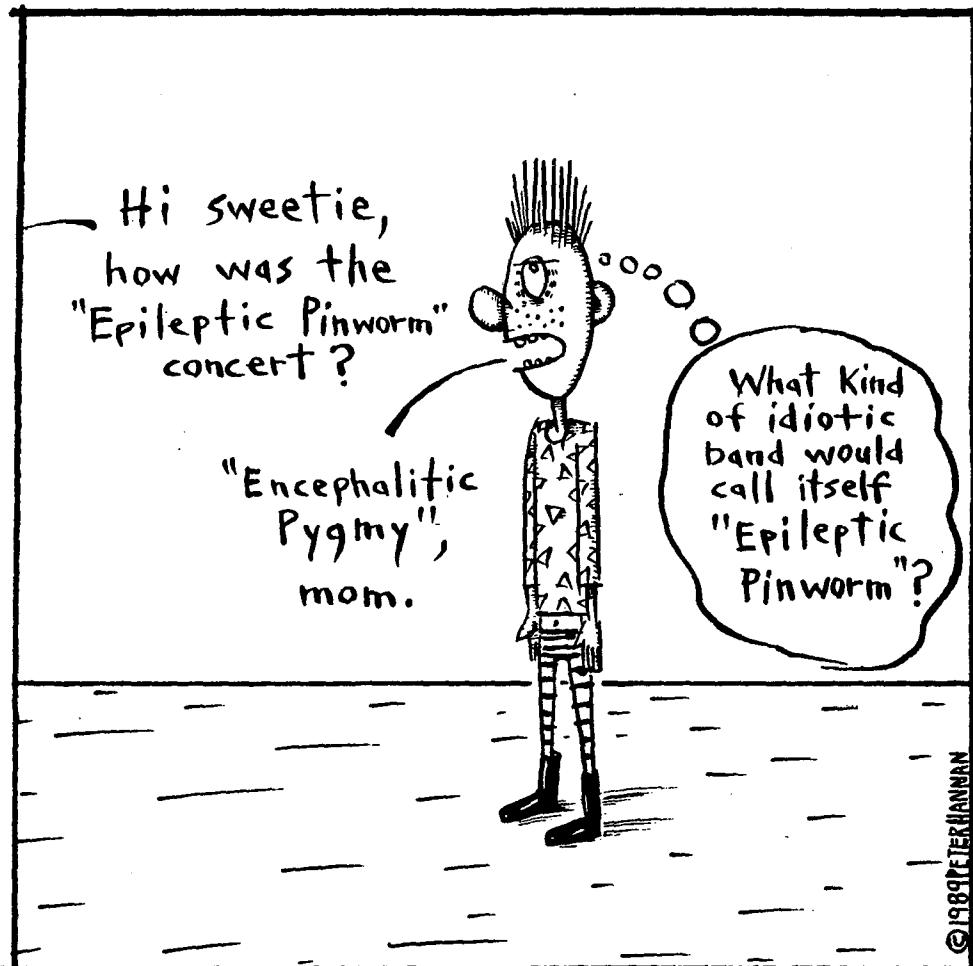
Even if the EPA's phase-down ban is enforced (it's currently being challenged by Canada as a violation of the free trade agreement), Brodeur projects that asbestos-induced lung cancer will kill 250,000 Americans in the next 20 to 25 years.

And now some physicians, many of them recipients of funding from the asbestos and real estate industries, are maintaining that chrysotile asbestos fibers—the type found in 95 percent of American buildings—are much less hazardous than the less widely used amphibole fibers, and therefore do not need to be removed. The research, based on very shaky science, has received favorable play in the *New York Times* and elsewhere, leading Ravanese to believe that the lessons of asbestos have not been learned. "You think you've got the final nail in the coffin," says Ravanese, "and then you find out they're about to blow the lid back off. It's really incredible."

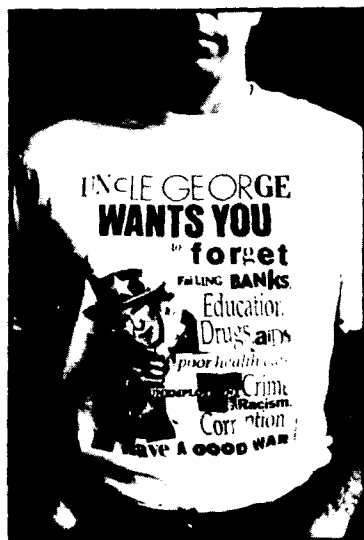
In the fall, Ravanese is bringing the Breath Taken exhibition to Rutgers University in New Brunswick, N.J., a 20-minute drive from Manville. For information about the catalogue or future exhibition dates, contact the Center for Visual Arts in the Public Interest, 348 Congress St., Boston, MA, 02210.

IN THESE TIMES AUG. 7-20, 1991 21

The Adventures of a Huge Mouth, by Peter Hannan



FREE T-SHIRT



Get it off your chest! This classic commentary on the Bush Administration by artist Stephen Kroninger is yours free when you subscribe to *The Progressive* magazine—America's leading voice for peace and social justice.

Just send \$19.97—that's 45 per cent off the newsstand price—and you'll enjoy Erwin Knoll's courageous editorials, June Jordan's passionate essays, and Molly Ivins's incomparable humor. Plus the FREE 'Uncle George' T-shirt!

We have only a limited number of shirts, so order today to reserve yours.

Yes, send me my FREE 'Uncle George' T-shirt, along with my subscription to *The Progressive*.

Please indicate size: ☐ large ☐ x-large.

Name (please print) _____

Address, Apt. _____

City, State, Zip _____

☐ My payment is enclosed. ☐ Charge my ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa.

Credit Card Acct. No. _____ Exp. Date _____

Cardholder's Signature _____

If you'd like additional T-shirts, please indicate size and send \$10 per shirt. Complete this form and mail it to:

the progressive 409 EAST MAIN STREET, MADISON, WI 53703

AS111

Bush

Continued from page 11

ers were." In addition to the lack of response from North and the CIA, she said, "the State Department was even cooler."

One Pentagon official familiar with the case said that after the 1987 meetings, Ladd and Jaffe were referred to CIA officials once again—specifically officials close to Dewey Claridge, a key player in the Iran-contra scandal. But again, no action resulted. Attempts to set up follow-up meetings with Achi were rebuffed.

"I came to the conclusion we were not really interested in doing anything" about this overture, said the official. "I knew the CIA was just slow-rolling it."

At the time, the failed U.S. arms-for-hostages deal with Iran and the shifting of arms profits to the contras lay exposed as a national scandal. Government inaction at this time might be explained by a play-it-safe mentality among security officials afraid of getting burned.

Melting the ice: But the spurning of the Syrian offer in 1985 is more perplexing. This initiative was conveyed to U.S. officials around the time that Syria secured the June 30, 1985, release of 39 American hostages from a TWA jetliner hijacked to Beirut.

Despite the poor relations between Damascus and Washington at the time, Jonathan Broder of the *Examiner* notes that Syria's Assad was known then to be seeking closer relations with the U.S. In contrast to Iran's demands for arms, better relations were all Achi sought in his alleged overtures through Ladd. U.S. officials viewed Syrian intervention on behalf of the TWA hostages within this context. And Syria's role in that release also underscored its influence with radical groups in Lebanon. Senior U.S. officials then viewed Assad as a crucial player in efforts to win the hostages' freedom.

Congressional sources say Senate staffers will try to learn whether North's determination to protect the Iran-contra pipeline may have played any role in the rejection of the

Syrian offers in 1985. But other sources, including a congressional investigator and one of the Pentagon officials involved in the case, believe it was Bush that sidetracked negotiations.

Sources familiar with the congressional investigation say the investigators are fully aware of the incendiary implications of the allegations concerning Bush. They also acknowledge the difficulties Bush would have in disappearing to Damascus during the campaign. But apparently intrigued by the other indications that the administration stalled pursuit of Syrian offers at other key moments, they seem determined to pursue these leads seriously.

Jaffe, who has also spoken with the source of the account implicating Bush, urges against jumping to premature conclusions. But he told the *Examiner*: "It's a tough situation. The ramifications are enormous."

Indeed, any indication of substance behind these accounts could provoke a serious reassessment of the rationale behind the current complex rapprochement with Syria. Aside from cooperation on the peace process, this has also involved U.S. acquiescence to the establishment of Syria's hegemony over Lebanon.

The Israelis, who keep a close watch on all intelligence relating to Syria, are not unaware of these allegations or their implications. A prominent Israeli official with expertise on Syria and a high security clearance indicated that Israel, too, might have geopolitical blackmail cards to play when asked about the allegation of Bush trips to Damascus.

"George Bush should be very careful about getting into a [policy] war with us," he said. "We know what Bush does, and we know what he doesn't do. We're not looking for a war [of words] with him. ... But Bush has dirty hands. ... He should be very keen to avoid a war with us."

Larry Cohler is senior writer for *Washington Jewish Week*, where a version of this story originally appeared.

C A L E N D A R

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$25.00 for one insertion, \$35.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

SARATOGA SPRINGS, NY August 9-16

The International Women's Writing Guild presents "WRITING & HIGHER VALUES II," the 14th Annual IWWG Summer Conference 1991, at Skidmore College. Although this seven-day conference is the largest in the U.S., the personal attention and quality of support offered is unsurpassed in empowering the talents and skills of women writers. This annual conference offers rewards and enrichments that have literally changed the lives of past attendees. Nearly 50 workshops are featured exploring a wide range of topics from fiction, non-fiction, poetry, feature writing and publishing. Many topics also explore the writer's inner journey as well as personal expression. Several guest speakers are featured. The conference is open to all women, regardless of professional portfolio, and attendees need not be members of IWWG. For further information on the IWWG and for conference registration, please contact Hannelore Hahn, c/o IWWG, P.O. Box 810, Gracie Station, New York, NY 10028, (212) 737-7536.

NICARAGUA September 21-October 3

HEALTH, WOMEN AND TRADE UNIONS IN NICARAGUA: Join a delegation focused on women's health and health trade unionists in Nicaragua from Sept. 21-Oct. 3, 1991. Visit women's hospitals, clinics and natural childbirth centers. Meet lay and professional midwives, women health workers and trade unionists. Hosted by FETSALUD,

Nicaraguan Health Workers Union. Cost is \$700 plus airfare. Organized by National Central American Health Rights Network (NCAHRN), 853 Broadway, Room 416, New York, NY 10003, (212) 420-9635.

ROCK HILL, NY August 22-26

The Future of Radical Economics: Union for Radical Political Economics 1991 Summer Conference, August 22 to 26. Camp Sequoia, Rock Hill, New York (2 hours from New York City). Plenary sessions: How Central is Marxism to Radical Political Economics? Is Feminism Marginal to Radical Political Economics? The New World Disorder and Its Impact on People of Color. Speakers include: Lourdes Beneria, Robert Cherry, Nancy Folbre, Rabab Hadi, Lennox Hinds, Achille Mbembe, Fred Moseley. Classes: Game Theory, Introduction to Political Economy, Money and Finance, Political Economy of Gender, Political Economy of Race and Class. Teachers include: Patrick Mason, Bob Pollin, Paddy Quick and Gil Skilman. A variety of panels and workshops will be offered with special sessions on radical pedagogy. Cultural, recreational activity and childcare included. Write: URPE National Office, Dept. of Economics, University of California, Riverside, CA 92521, or phone (714) 787-3538.

RANCHO PALOS VERDES, CA September 8

The only Southern California appearance of Sonia Johnson will be at the Pacific Unitarian Church, 5621 Montemalaga Dr. from 2-4 p.m. Sonia will bring copies of her new book to autograph. For information, call Nancy Wells at (213) 833-3682 or Florence Moore at (213) 316-0921. Admission will be on a sliding scale (\$15-\$5) so all can attend. Small group discussion will follow her talk. No one will be turned away for lack of funds.

HELP WANTED

COMMUNITY JOBS, socially responsible job opportunities. Subscribe to the only monthly nationwide listing covering peace & justice, civil rights, unions, consumer advocacy, organizing, social work and more. \$25/one year. Send checks payable to **ACCESS: Networking in the Public Interest**, 50 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108, (617) 720-5627.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE seeks full-time staff person for organizing on disarmament and social justice issues and administrative work. Organizing experience and a commitment to nonviolence required. Affirmative action employer. Salary: \$23,000/yr. plus benefits. Apply by Sept. 3. Contact WRL asap for full job description or send cover letter, resume and writing sample to Personnel, WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, (212) 228-0450.

Human rights organization seeks a **NATIONAL ACTION UNIT DIRECTOR** based in Chicago. Innovative, dynamic person needed to oversee the planning, management and coordination of the refugee, death penalty, outreach and coordination group programs. Direct responsibility for the continued development of the following networks: Legal Support, Educators and Health Professionals. International law and grass-roots organizing a plus. Experience in program management, staff supervision and computer literacy essential. Planning and budgeting, knowledge of other languages are assets. Salary: mid to upper 40s, excellent benefits. Letter and resume by Aug. 25 to Job-11, Amnesty International USA, 53 W. Jackson, Suite 1162, Chicago, IL 60604. EOE - Women, racial and other minorities encouraged. No calls please.

ORGANIZING DIRECTOR. Louisiana Coalition for Tax Justice, a statewide network of community, labor and environmental organizations fighting for progressive tax reform and political power for low- and moderate-income citizens, seeks an **ORGANIZING DIRECTOR**. Duties include: membership recruitment, fundraising, chapter formation, organizing parish and statewide direct-action cam-

JEWISH CURRENTS

July-August 1991 Issue
"Nudging Operation Peace Process," editorial;
"Israeli Resisters Say Yesh G'vul," Mike Kleiner;
"Soviet Jewish History," Zachary M. Baker;
"Aaron Copeland, America's Composer,"
Eric A. Gordon.

Single issue: \$2 plus 65¢ postage.
Subscription: \$20 yearly (USA).

JEWISH CURRENTS
Dept. T, Suite 601
22 E. 17 Street
New York, NY 10003

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL NETWORK

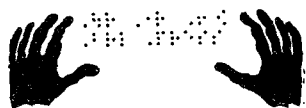
WIN NEWS is an open participatory quarterly by, for and about women. Reports on Women's Rights Around the Globe!

For info, contact:
187 Grant St., Lexington, MA 02173 USA
FOR FREE SAMPLE, SEND \$1 POSTAGE

This publication
is available
in microform
from University
Microfilms
International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan,
Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-761-4700. Or
mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International,
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

The Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc.



For blind and print-handicapped persons, selected articles from **IN THESE TIMES** are included in **FREEDOM IDEAS INTERNATIONAL** (FI), a quarterly review of minority and independent Left publications, produced by the Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc., on 4-track 15/16 ips cassette tape. A 4-issue subscription to FI costs \$5. Send to: Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc., 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217, (313) 842-1804

C L A S S I F I E D S

paigns, training and supervising a staff of 2-5 field organizers. Current LCTJ campaigns involve stopping tax breaks to polluters, reforming corporate tax breaks to increase funding to local schools, creating jobs for Louisiana workers, and fighting other forms of corporate welfare. Job qualifications include 2-3 years experience in either community or labor organizing, and previous management and supervisory experience. Salary: \$15,000-\$18,000, based on experience and qualifications. Full benefits. EOE. Resume, cover letter, references to: LA Coalition, 8841 Bluebonnet Blvd., Suite C, Baton Rouge, LA 70810-2847; contact Fred Brooks, (504) 945-8221 or (504) 766-1484.

PUBLICATIONS

QUEERS! *Gay Community News*—For nearly two decades, *GCN* has been a national forum for lesbian and gay life and liberation. *GCN* provides the kind of probing, insightful news, analysis and entertainment coverage that makes it "the source for up-to-date weekly coverage of lesbian and gay politics and culture nationwide." (Richard Burns, Director, New York Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center). With articles ranging from queers in the military to television's first gay cartoon kiss, there's always something for everyone, every week! 1 year, \$39; 6 months, \$25; or for a sample copy, send \$2 (to cover shipping and handling) to: *GCN* Subscriptions, 62 Berkeley St., Boston, MA 02116.

ALTERNATIVE PRESS INDEX: TOOL FOR SOCIAL CHANGE. API is an invaluable tool for your study of social change. 250 alternative & radical publications indexed. Ask the folks at your library to subscribe. \$125/institutions, \$30/individuals. Write Alternative Press Center, P.O. Box 33109, Baltimore, MD 21218 for more information.

Nicaragua speaks for itself
Barricada Internacional,
monthly, bilingual news about
Central America. Sample free!
\$35/year; \$18/6 mo.
Barricada USA-I, PO Box
410150 SF, CA 94141



AUTHORS WANTED BY N.Y. PUBLISHER

Leading subsidy book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, juvenile, scholarly and religious works, etc. Send for booklet Z-89. New authors welcomed. **VANTAGE PRESS**, 516 W 34 St., New York, NY 10001

1990-91 **DIRECTORY OF ALTERNATIVE & RADICAL PUBLICATIONS**. Over 300 periodicals listed, \$3.00. Write: Alternative Press Center, P.O. Box 33109, Baltimore, MD 21218.

SOCIALIST BIWEEKLY. Since 1891. \$1/4 months. The People (ITT). P.O. Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

HOW 400 BOMBS CAN SLAY HUMAN-KIND! S.A.S.E.: N.O.N.E., 316 Bridger, #344, Las Vegas, NV 89101.

GENERAL PUBLIC—Brand new alternative monthly newsletter on political, social and environmental issues. Subscription \$15/yr. Sample \$1.00. General Public, P.O. Box 633, Newington, VA 22122.

RESOURCE GUIDE FOR THE RESPONSIBLE NON-MONOGAMIST. Over 100 pages of valuable information on multi-partner sexuallove relationships. \$14.95 to Deborah Anapol, Ph.D., Box 2096-IT, Mill Valley, CA 94942.

SAGE: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women. P.O. Box 42741, Atlanta, GA 30311-0741. Journal for educators, policy-makers, researchers and social and professional organizations. Two issues/year. Individual subscriptions, \$15.00; institutional subscriptions, \$25.00. Contact: Editors Patricia Bell-Scott and Beverly Guy-Sheftall.

LEARN WHY HETEROSEXUALITY is rejected by God. Send \$15 to: The Apocalypse Society, P.O. Box 29, Jamaica, NY 11435.

NEW EARTH WORK MAGAZINE. Monthly, nationwide listing of natural resource and environmental jobs — executive through entry level — plus internships, career articles, networking and people news. 36 pages. \$4/single issue, \$16.95 for 6 months. Write: **EARTH WORK**, Dept. 518-1, SCA, Box 550, Charlestown, NH 03603.

BOOKS

AN ARGUMENT FOR GOD. A psychological theory based on the second com-

mandment of no graven images that refutes Freud. \$5. Anthony Rhodes, 22 Pearl St., Camden, ME 04843.

THE MARIJUANA GROWER'S INSIDER'S GUIDE has received rave reviews from both experts and novices. "This is THE definitive guide to growing." **HIGH TIMES**. 380 pages, 200 photos. \$22.95 from Red Eye Press, P.O. Box 65751, Los Angeles, CA 90065-0751.

Texana, Western Americana, write or visit, **CYPRESS BOOK CO.**, 305 W. Lafayette, Jefferson, TX 75657. Call Milton Jordan, (903) 665-7227.

"ANARCHIST COOKBOOK" — Available again! \$22, postpaid. Barricade Books, Box 1401-J, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

DAYS OF DECISION. Oral History of Vietnam Anti-war GIs. Inspired Gulf War resisters. \$16.95, postpaid. Broken Rifle Press, P.O. Box 749, Trenton, NJ 08607.

EROTICA & CURIOSA. Fine and rare materials bought and sold. Catalog, \$2. C. Scheiner, 275 Linden Blvd., Brooklyn, NY 11226.

TRAVEL

JET TO EUROPE! \$160 from the East Coast, \$269 from West Coast, (\$229 elsewhere—provided seats are available). **AIRHITCH**, (212) 864-2000.

AUDIO

Listen monthly to some of our greatest thinkers who shape the events of our time, on a sixty-minute audio cassette. Send \$3.00 to cover postage and handling for a sample. **AUDIO VIEW**, Box 6, Springfield, VA 22150.

FINE ELECTRONIC MUSIC. Write for free catalog/poster. Coriolis Records, Box 3528-1, Orange, CA 92665.

PRODUCTS

FRIENDS IN RECOVERY; carry the message with exclusively designed T-shirts. *Keep It Simple, One Day at a Time, Easy Does It, Don't Push My Buttons, Expect a Miracle*. Satisfaction guaranteed. For detailed brochure, write: The Human Touch, P.O. Box 392, Prospect Heights, IL 60070.

JUST SAY NO!

A rap about resistance to the Gulf War sung and recorded by American GIs stationed in Germany is now available on cassette tape from the War Resisters League.

"There's no glory in disaster
Once the wheels of War start
to turn... So when they tell you
to go, **JUST SAY NO!**"

To receive your copy, send \$5 to:
Michael Marsh
War Resisters League
339 Lafayette Street
New York, NY 10012



HERBS/YOHIMBINE, Kava-Kava, seeds, oils, over 500, Catalog #HT-3, \$1.00 (refundable). Jude Herbs, Box 563TT, Huntington Station, NY 11746.

EDUCATION

HERBAL HEALER CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL. Information/catalog/newsletter - \$2 - HC32, Box 97-B, Mountain View, AR 72560, (501) 269-4177.

FULLY APPROVED UNIVERSITY DEGREES! Economical home study for Bachelor's, Master's, Ph.D., fully approved by the California Superintendent of Public Instruction. Prestigious faculty counsels for independent study and life experience credits (5,000 enrolled students, 400 faculty). Free information — Richard Crews, M.D. (Harvard), President, Columbia Pacific University, Dept. 3K88, 1415 Third St., San Rafael, CA 94901. Toll free: (800) 227-0119; California: (800) 552-5522; or (415) 459-1650.

HEALTH

FINGERNAIL FUNGUS? Natural treatment method. Money-back guarantee. \$10 to: HMC, P.O. Box 458-CL, Milltown, NJ 08850.

PRODUCE

CERTIFIED, ORGANICALLY GROWN. Fruits, vegetables, dry goods, custom wild organic herbs and garden seeds. UPS delivery. Krystal Wharf Farms, RD 2, Box 2112, Mansfield, PA 16933.

ASSOCIATIONS

SUPPORT WAR TAX RESISTERS even if you don't resist yourself. Write **WAR TAX RESISTERS PENALTY FUND, F.O.R.**, Box 25, N. Manchester, IN 46962.

PERSONALS

NATIONWIDE SINGLES PHOTO MAGAZINE. Send name, address, age. Send no money. Exchange, 1817 Welton, #1580-BA, Denver, CO 80202.

WM, 29. Goodlooking. Searching for older women to build a loving life. Photo gets mine. Answer all. Leslie Hattey, Rt. 1, Box 36, Jackson, NC 27845.

SINGLES SHARING VALUES on peace, ecology, spirituality, personal growth connect AT THE GATE. Free details. Box 09506-ITT, Columbus, OH 43209.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible, socially conscious singles who care about peace, justice, racial equity, and the environment. National and international membership. All ages. Since 1984. Free sample: **Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262**.

STOP

Create your own personalized protest bumper sticker. Bold red "STOP" with large area to write your important message.
2/\$2.50, 6/\$5 to:
NTTB, PO Box 1089,
Northampton, MA 01061

 **Complete the cycle.**
Buy recycled.

**The One Stop For REAL
Recycled Paper Products.**

Free Catalog (800) 323-2811

**Atlantic
Recycled
Paper Co.**

"I regard Joseph McCabe as the most learned man alive today
... no one can very well question his scholarship."

—Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes (1933)
noted educator-humanist

An insightful historical analysis of

The Catholic Church and the Sex Problem

THE STUPIDITY, FUTILITY, AND INSOLENCE OF ITS ETHIC

By **JOSEPH McCABE**

paper \$5.00 ppd. (USA).

INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS

PO Box 102
Ridgefield NJ 07657

IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Work Like Your Own Sales Force!

We're the *only* national newsweekly offering the variety of readers you won't find anywhere else. It's the inexpensive way to promote your product, service or organization.

Word Rates:

95¢ per word 1 or 2 issues
85¢ per word 3-5 issues
80¢ per word 6-9 issues
75¢ per word 10-19 issues
65¢ per word 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$30 per inch 1 or 2 issues
\$28 per inch 3-5 issues
\$26 per inch 6-9 issues
\$24 per inch 10-19 issues
\$22 per inch 20 or more issues

Classified ads must be prepaid. Complete the coupon below and enclose it along with your ad copy and payment to:

IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Ad deadline is Friday, 12 days prior to the Wednesday cover date.

STARLIGHT MEMORIES

By Greg Kilbane

ed to an imaginary dark sky sight. In a dramatic moment similar to a rose opening under time-lapse photography, the dull city night bursts into its former naked-eye splendor. Often a show stopper, the audience gasps in awe, but it is awe tinged with sadness. The realization of what has passed away is like glancing at an obituary and discovering the death of an old school chum. Although our relation to the sky has grown distant and remote, the loss of what was once familiar boggles the mind and weighs heavy on the heart. The day may arrive when the only way to view the night's prior beauty will be beneath the projected ceilings of antiquated planetaria. A dusty museum piece, the simulated universe will take its place beside dioramas featuring the dodo and passenger pigeon.

Yet even as a natural night sky becomes increasingly endangered, light pollution is actively promoted. This past autumn, a utility company in New Jersey sent customers a packet of fliers suggesting a "National Night Out." Residents were encouraged to "lightscape" their yards, sit outside and "push back the darkness" in a stand against crime. Another flier urged the installation of additional lights to "extend the day for family fun around the pool, porch and patio, shedding a magical glow on landscaping and illuminating walkways for safety." Billions of dollars are continually wasted illuminating billboards long after bedtime and lighting pathways to doorsteps any cat-burglar may follow. How absurd, in an age of high-cost energy and petroleum wars, to trade away the real magic of a thousand suns for a plastic lantern's tacky gleam.

Sky's the limit: In the never-ending search for the elusive dark sky, the solution seems as simple as merely turning off the lights. But rather than flip a switch, the inclination is to build another observatory at the expense of a secluded squirrel's mountain habitat. Once touted as the answer to a blurred and dimming night, the Hubble Space Telescope has become the world's most expensive pay-for-view monocular.

Meanwhile, resorts in the Southwest and the far North Woods advertise the sale of pristine skies like cheap souvenirs, even as precious starlight wanes unnoticed amid the laser lightshows at Niagara Falls and Hoover Dam. Instead of looking up these days, a thousand points of light are observed by reading our president's lips. Perhaps that's why his metaphor never really caught on. Most of us, on any given night, can only relate to about 50 points.

With high-tech computer imagery and Voyager spacecraft beaming up close and personal views of the giant outer planets, all the star-gazing necessary will be brought into our living rooms via the great media blitz. My local news announcer reports of the nuclear-powered Galileo and Magellan missions mapping the face of Venus and searching the depths of Jupiter's atmosphere. Amazing stories indeed, accompanied by amazing pictures. But gone is the romance held by the night of a million pearls. To future lovers and poets, no longer star-struck, we'll tell of a time when nocturnal diamonds graced the heavens and sparkled brightly in our eyes.

Ah, summertime. The very mention of the word conjures up a multitude of simple pleasures: squeaky hinges on screen doors, the smell of a leather baseball mitt, the common beauty of dandelions in bloom. Who among us hasn't enjoyed reclining in the cool grass on a summer's evening watching stars pop out as the Earth engulfs us in its shadow? This is the season when we find our eyes turning toward the night sky. Summer evenings, often clear and mild, offer a welcome respite from stuffy, closed-up rooms.

As a boy, I remember a favorite joy of scouting was my troop's fascination with the nighttime sky. On camping trips, with star maps in hand, we searched the dark canopy like owls hunting mice. With necks straining, we explored the Great Square of Pegasus, the famous Summer Triangle and, of course, the Great Bear.

My scout camp was located about 10 miles from my Midwestern hometown, a city of approximately 50,000 and one of several satellite cities surrounding Chicago. Recently, I returned to Camp Oak-Arrow only to find a posh neighborhood of upper-middle-class homes on one-acre wooded lots. Nearby, widened streets and strip malls have replaced pine forest and gravel roads. Also gone are the night skies of my youth, lost in the bright and blight of suburban development.

Where our grandparents could walk to the city park to find a dark sky sight, we must now travel hundreds of miles out of the

sprawl to find a similar sky. But unlike the disappearing grizzly and wild horse, the fading cosmos is actually an illusion. Ethereal wonders still abound, but they're increasingly hidden behind a curtain of light created by the black magic of industrial culture. Barely noticeable 100 years ago, this stellar vanishing act is already so pronounced that astronomers predict a near starless night by the late 21st century.

Although seldom talked about and little understood, light pollution is an environmental crisis that does more than spoil the view. Wild creatures, already pushed to the brink by more publicized ecological blunders, now suffer from lack of night vision. Sea turtles, mistaking the glow of coastal communities for moonlight on water, head inland to be squashed on beach-front highways. Migrating birds, driven ashore by violent storms, slam into doom against the glittery confusion of office towers. Even a moth thumping softly around a back-door porch light, misses the opportunity to pollinate the evening primrose. Our own circadian rhythms were set by an ancient relationship with the cosmos, but it may be impossible to feel the link under an empty sky. Such estrangement from nature erodes understanding of our connection to the universe, and here, too, humankind continues to sleep through hard lessons.

City sights: Modern society has learned to view interstellar space as a complex and fuzzy abstraction, but there was a time when the nightly panorama was seen

more concretely. The astounding astronomical marvels of Stonehenge, for instance, were built on the sole basis of naked-eye viewing. Equally impressive, the Mayan pyramids possess an astronomical accuracy comparable to a Swiss timepiece. The Age of Enlightenment saw famous astronomers logging hundreds of "deep sky" objects (galaxies, nebulae) into guidebooks still used today. Remarkably accurate descriptions were achieved not from rural observatories but from townhouse windows in such great cities as Paris, London and Rome. Accomplishing similar feats under today's hazy skies would be difficult to imagine.

For people everywhere, the mysteries of the night sky still represent a dreamy escape from the stark, sun-bleached realities of day-to-day living. One needn't be an astronomer to be captivated by such hypnotic spectacles as a brilliant shooting star or a crescent moon setting in indigo twilight. There are many who may never discover the exquisiteness of the Grand Canyon or experience the delights of an Amazon rainforest, but the celestial enchantments of our own Milky Way are home to us all. You do recall the Milky Way, that ghost-like gauze of misty light shaping the boundaries of our galaxy? Its three-dimensional aspects are breathtaking to behold. I haven't seen it in my suburban sky for at least 20 years.

I have, however, observed the Milky Way under the synthetic skies of Chicago's Adler Planetarium, where spectators are transport-